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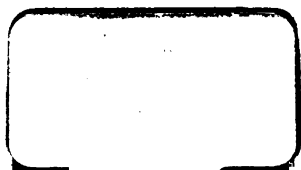
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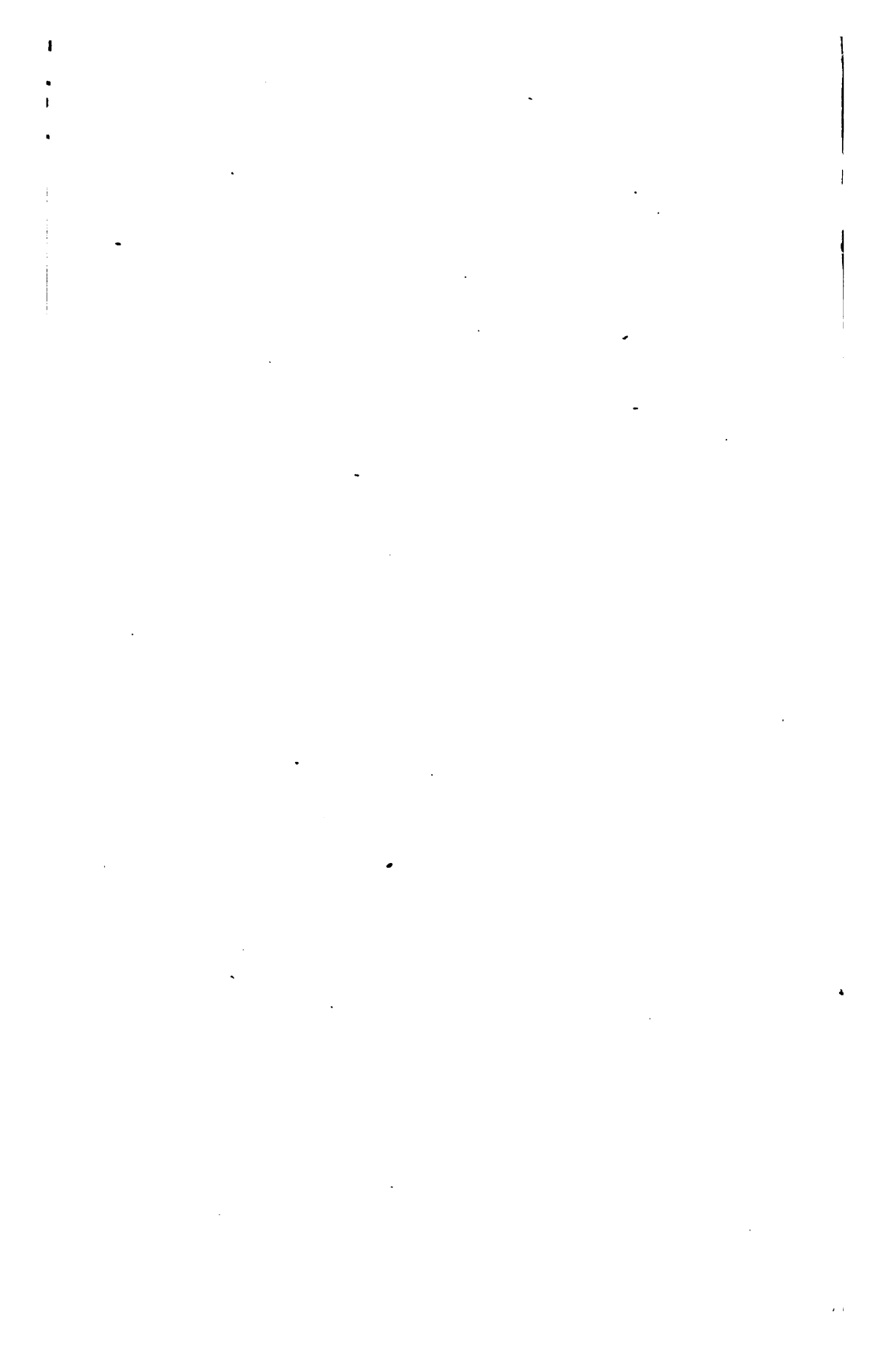
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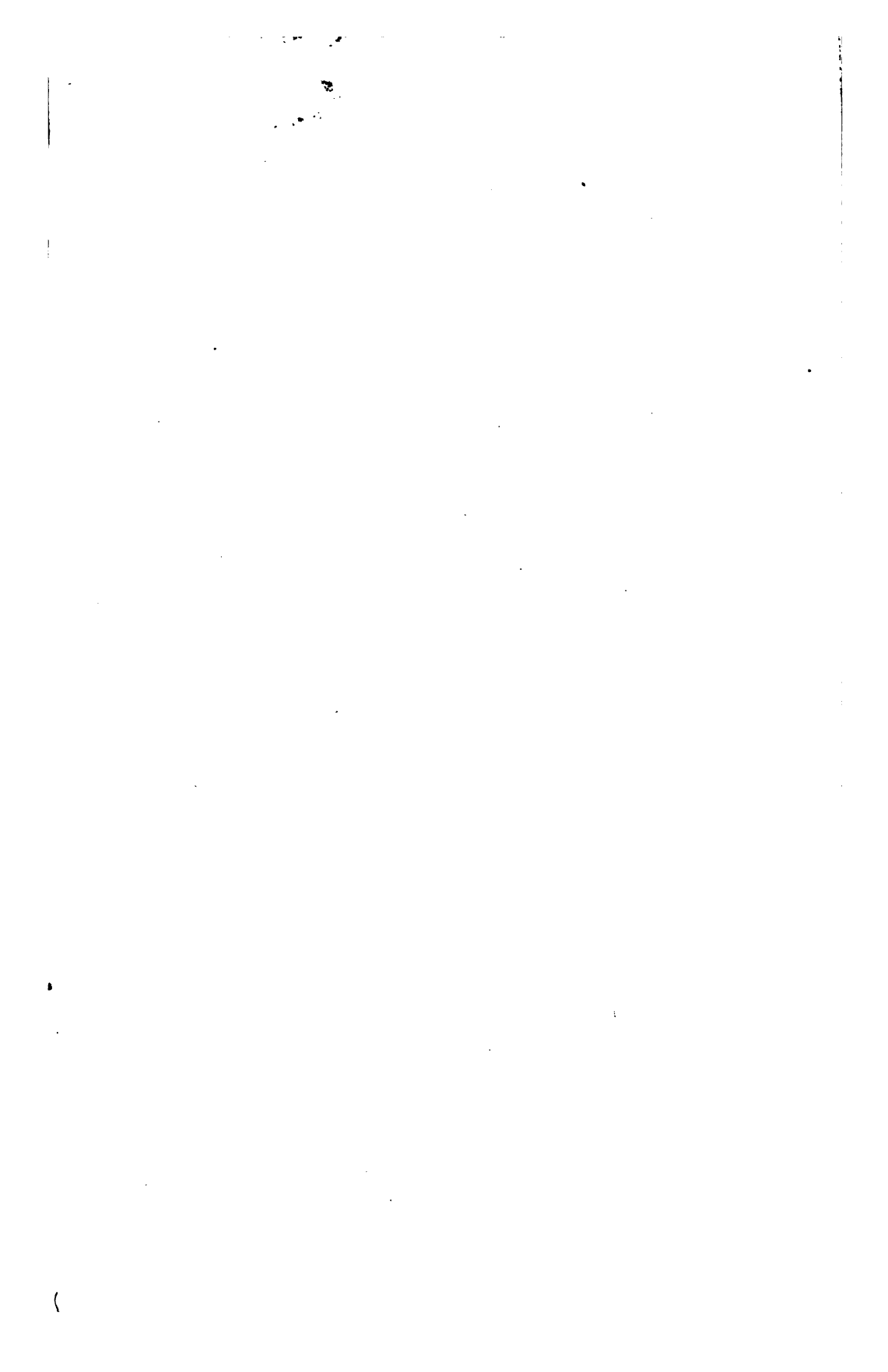


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*Edmund Geste,
Bishop of Salisbury*

London, William Pickering, Chancery Lane, 1810.

Robert V. Gay —

THE
LIFE AND CHARACTER
OF
EDMUND GESTE, S. T. P.

P. W. S. Dugdale

Aug. 24 -

1840

THE PRINCIPAL COMPILER OF
The Liturgy of the Church of England,
ESTABLISHED AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION, AND NOW IN USE
AMONGST US AS THE ONLY
ENGLISH CHURCH SERVICE,
LEGALLY ESTABLISHED IN THIS KINGDOM;
THE FIRST PROTESTANT BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,
AFTERWARDS
BISHOP OF SALISBURY,
BY APPOINTMENT OF
AND
ALMONER TO
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

BY
HENRY GEAST DUGDALE, ESQ.
BARRISTER AT LAW,
M. A. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
AND A BENCHER OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

"Palmarum qui meruit ferat."

LONDON:
WILLIAM PICKERING.
1840.

JOAN STACE

C. WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

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1840

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TO THE PUBLIC.

THE contents of the following pages were collected and thrown together for private use and personal information, not intended for public inspection. But, considering that the person to whom they relate was the principal labourer in the vineyard of the Reformation (the blessings of which are bestowed upon us all); that he was mainly instrumental in planting and cultivating that tree whose branches have so happily flourished, and have so successfully extended themselves and their fruits to the remotest corners of this habitable world; under whose benign influence our ancestors as well as ourselves have been (and it is to be hoped for generations yet to come will continue to be) so effectually sheltered from the baneful effects of religious error and of Popish ascendancy; considering also that every thing relating to so eminent and meritorious a cha-

racter cannot fail to be interesting to every true Christian, and to every Protestant in particular,—it has been deemed advisable to communicate this short memoir to the world ; at the same time hoping, and indeed earnestly calling upon the literary world at large, but more especially those seats of learning of which he was a member, as well as those ecclesiastical establishments over which, for so many years, to the honour and glory of God, to the fruitful edification of his Church, and to his own excellent and meritorious commendation he presided, (“ ad Dei gloriam honorifice, ad “ ecclesiæ edificationem fructuosè, et ad suam “ commendationem egregie præferisset”) they will search with diligence and avidity the arcanæ of their respective depositaries ; examine their munimental manuscripts ; and, should their labours be attended with success, communicate their contents to the world,

Every document accessible to the inquirer, has been sedulously explored, and faithfully made use of. It is devoutly to be wished, that the hitherto inaccessible and unexplored may be carefully examined, and liberally developed, in justice to the claims of departed merit, in grateful remembrance for that form of Church

Service which we are taught publicly, in offering up our daily prayers, and for the temporal and spiritual blessings which, by the goodness of Divine Mercy, may have been, by our petitions (through this medium perhaps), collectively and individually conferred upon us. Let us not leave to posterity to unfold that information which our ancestors may have neglected to unfold, or to do that which they, as well as ourselves, may have left undone, and which ought to have been done ; and let us not despair of success in the undertaking.

- "Cuncta aperit secreta dies, ex tempore verum
Nascitur, et veniens ætas abscondita pandit."



LIFE OF EDMUND GESTE.

THE great, good, and very learned man, as he is described by Bale, Strype, Wheatley, and other writers upon the age in which he lived, and whose life and character it is intended in the following pages to commemorate, was born in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., and lived during the succeeding reigns of Edward and Mary, until the nineteenth year of Elizabeth, when he died Bishop of Salisbury, and was buried near his predecessors, Wyvill and Jewell, in the cathedral of Salisbury.

The age in which he lived is the most important in the annals of European as well as English history ; and abounds in events which were then, are at present, and will be for ages felt by succeeding generations, intimately affecting as they do the spiritual as well as temporal interests of mankind.

At this period, the opening of the sixteenth century, the aspect of the political and ecclesiastical hemisphere of Europe predicted a great change. The baneful influence of Papal superstition, which had for centuries established

its dominion over the minds of men, had now reached its greatest height, and was doomed to fall. That power, though wielded by one of its most ambitious and able instruments, which had formed itself upon the superstition and credulity of the human mind, and to which the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of Europe had so long and so implicitly submitted, was shaking to its centre. The human mind was becoming enlightened : it begun to inquire and to reason upon its inquiries. The Papal dignity had placed itself too high, and the burdens it was imposing were too grievous to escape the searching spirit of inquiry. Its exactions being felt too heavy to be borne, its infallibility was questioned ; and in spite of all its wonted arts of political intrigue and priestly intimidation, its threats of ecclesiastical censures, excommunications, and eternal exclusion from the blessings of Christian salvation, the funds, as well as the opinion of tributary nations (which had been the substantial support of its power) were withdrawn, and the power itself fell ; and though defended by a powerful Prince, the throne of imposture and superstition shook at the attack of an *obscure individual*.

In Germany, the blow, heavy and vital as it was, had been first struck ; in England, the King, instigated by passions peculiar to himself, and urged by his own worldly interests, as well as those of his people, joined in that

attack, and the people followed his example. —Thus these arrogant claims to infallibility were disputed and rejected; its frauds detected and exposed to public view; its exactions resisted; and its threats of excommunication and arbitrary exclusion from the blessings of Christian salvation (which hitherto had never failed to bring both princes and people under its yoke, and to fill its coffers with their tribute) were ridiculed and despised. Henry had been born and educated in the Romish creed, had been eulogized as the defender of its faith. He still continued less avowedly indeed, though not less efficiently, the defender of that faith; but it was a faith stripped of those impurities, and subversive of that supremacy, which the Papal see had given him the credit of defending.

At length the English nation, prince and people, clergy and laity, convinced of its imposture, and wearied with its exactions, shook off its chains, and sealed their unalterable secession by repeated acts of its convocation and its parliaments, in the most solemn and efficient manner that the nature of its laws and constitutions would admit. Too headstrong and too self-interested to yield obedience to the court of Rome, but too acute not to perceive its corruptions, Henry died unconverted, a callous bigot to its faith; but he had kindled and left behind him a spirit of inquiry, and a taste for religious controversy and improve-

ment, which was daily producing the most beneficial effects in the progress of the Reformation. Too lofty to stoop, too much immersed in sensual and capricious pursuits, or perhaps too much distracted by accidental circumstances in his affections, or too wavering and uncertain in his own religious principles, to attend to the education of his children, their religious, and indeed their education generally, had been left altogether to the care of the tutors and domestics * that attended them : and hence we may observe in the succeeding reigns, so far as the influence of the reigning prince and princesses and their respective power could avail, the strenuous efforts of the rival religions alternately prevailing. The young and tender shoots of the reformed religion had now taken deep root, and were daily acquiring strength and vigor under the benign auspices of Edward. Seminaries of national education for general knowledge and religious instruction were founded, and both were nourished and encouraged by royal munificence and individual exertion.

In the succeeding reign of his sister Mary, these promising appearances were checked by the chilling blasts of Romish ascendancy : in-

* So much was the supply of even necessities neglected, that Lady Baroness Bryan, the governess of Queen Elizabeth, was obliged to write to Lord Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, for a special order from her father for their supply. The letter is now extant, Cotton. Lib. 160. c. 10 ; Strype, Mem. vol. i. App. 172.

tolerant bigotry, cruel persecution, and insatiable exaction succeeded, and enforced the claims of their former ascendancy by the most deliberate and unrelenting acts of tyranny and torture which priestly ingenuity could invent. The fagot and the wheel were in the hands of an obdurate and crafty priesthood, backed by the arm of secular power, largely and liberally employed to punish every recusant to its faith, and to enforce conviction to its creed. In vain the selected victims expired martyrs to their faith, sealing their constancy with their blood. Thanks to divine mercy, this system of terror (intolerant and cruel as it was) was but of short duration, and ceased with the life of its Protectress; and with it also ceased the spiritual dominion over the minds and persons of men which it was struggling ineffectually to revive.

The dawn of Elizabeth's reign rose with a happier and brighter lustre. The power of Romish superiority, staggering as it had been during the preceding reigns from the blows it had received, now fell, like Lucifer, never to rise again. The Popish bishops, instigated by their mandates from the court of Rome, and eagerly desirous of re-establishing their short-lived ascendancy, determined, by one bold step, to effect their object, and to involve the English throne in ruin and its people in convulsion. They refused either to acknowledge the supremacy of the Queen, or to officiate in her coronation

Undismayed by this impotent attack, and the powerless thunder of excommunication, and ecclesiastical censures of the Vatican and its abettors, the Queen, and her wise and intrepid ministers, proceeded calmly and peaceably to establish the reformed religion upon the firmest basis. Thus, without refusing its tolerance to religious scruples, and not averting its countenance from other creeds, they proceeded to ingraft a body of religious profession upon the institutions of the state; and by thus interweaving the spiritual and temporal interests together, they gave mutual and reciprocal stability to both, that both might stand or fall together; immortalizing themselves by the immortality of their work; and obtaining, as they deserved, the blessings, gratitude, and admiration of their descendants to every future generation by the blessings, both temporal and spiritual, which have been and continue to be by these means conferred upon them. Experience, the only infallible test of human wisdom, has proved, and still continues daily to confirm the wisdom of their counsels,—thus raising a structure of the most imperishable materials, calculated to produce, so long as they are retained, the same effects,—political power supported by religious truth, and divine worship regulated and supported by political power. Their posterity know and feel these blessings;—happy if they have not the folly or the madness to lose them! They have hitherto foiled, (and may they be

equally successful in the present and at every future repetition, in defeating), the incessant attacks of disappointed ambition, restless intrigue, insatiable avarice and vindictive rage of the Papal power, which repeatedly shewed itself from time to time during the remaining part of the reign of Elizabeth, and which exhibited itself in plots, conspiracies, and attempts to the assassination of her person, and deep-rooted hostility to her government, always detected, always defeated by the vigor of her laws, and their faithful and vigilant administration.

Another instance of the beneficial effects derived from the union of ecclesiastical affairs in the institutions of the state, may be seen in the strength thereby imparted in common to the common and canon law.

Before this time the common and ecclesiastical laws were in their administration in constant collision with each other. The secular and ecclesiastical laws, derived from different sources, regulated by different and sometimes opposite rules, directed to different objects, and administered by men of different education and professions, had always been jealous of each other. The ecclesiastical tribunals were often powerless without the assistance of the secular arm; and the common law was too rigid and narrow in its rules, and too confined in its judgments, to effect complete justice, or the full objects of its suitors; but by being blended together, and placed at the disposal

of one common power, the supreme power of the nation, both were placed in a situation to receive strength and amelioration from its enactments; were made to harmonize with each other for the good of the whole; and to be from time to time, as occasion required, altered and improved for the general or individual benefit of all.

At this time the Church Liturgy, in its present form, was established: a profession of faith, a manual system of devotion of acknowledged and unrivalled superiority, and maintaining that superiority over every other religion in its collects and its prayers; chaste and elegant in its diction, sublime and holy in its doctrine, plain and explicit in its creed, fervent in spirit, convincing to its votaries, invincible to its assailants, silencing alike the calumnies of the scoffer, the casuistry of the sceptic, and the blind folly of the infidel; leading diffidence to sure and certain hope, sin to the rewards of faith and repentance, and the vanity of all human wisdom to the revealed word of God and the attainment of eternal salvation.

True and faithful interpreters of its divine original, they breathe the spirit of sincerity and truth (the most acceptable offering to the God of truth, their great Founder and Creator) in every sentiment and every line. Thus, founded upon the only true and incontestable sources of the divine will, and embracing, in his comprehensive formula, every substantial principle

of the true religion which every sect and denomination of Christians may fearlessly adopt, the temporal and ecclesiastical head in this kingdom directed the present liturgy to be formed, and called upon all Christians of every shade and difference in its dominions to reconcile their petty differences, and, by the most solemn acts that its national institutions could devise, to unite as brethren in one common and universal act of uniformity in prayer to the God and universal Father of all. Engrafting in its doctrine every principle of that religion which, as Christians, they were bound to obey, and prescribing for their devotions those forms which, for their beauty and their usefulness, were calculated to remove every scruple and silence every objection. Such is the form of that ritual which, being established by our ancestors, and transmitted unadulterated to us, is daily and hourly in use amongst us in the service of our church; and being embodied in our laws, forms a part of the constitution under which we live, and the temporal and spiritual blessings we enjoy. It may be difficult and almost impossible, in the present texture of the human mind, to remove every scruple, and satisfy every claimant upon points so delicate and important; we may be unmindful of its beauties, and insensible to its excellence, as we hourly are to the beauties and wonders of the great Author of both, in his works of the creation, merely because we are hourly in their

uninterrupted, and, as it were, imperceptible enjoyment: both, however, unquestionably contribute, the one to our constant use and comfort in our passage through this life, as the other most assuredly will to our eternal welfare and inestimable salvation in the next.

Edmund Geste was the principal labourer in this great and imperishable work: "having
" been appointed (in the words of Strype) by
" Secretary Sir William Cecil, in the room of
" Archbishop Parker, who was absent some
" part of the time by reason of sickness. Him
" the Secretary required diligently to compare
" both King Edward's Communion Prayer
" Books together, and from them both to frame
" a Book for the use of the Church of England,
" by correcting and amending, altering and
" adding, or taking away according to his judgment, and the ancient Liturgies; which when
" he had done, and a new Service Book being
" finished by him and the others appointed
" thereto, the said Geste conveyed it to the
" Secretary with a letter now extant," (replete with deep theological erudition, extensive classical and scholastic knowledge, clearness of intellect, and strong religious zeal, qualities which justified the trust reposed in him, and for which he was so judiciously selected,)
" and containing his reasons for his own alterations and additions, and therein particular
" satisfaction given to divers things, many of
" which seem to have been hints and questions

“ of the Secretary, pursuant to the settlement
“ of the Liturgy ; concluding his letter with
“ these remarkable words, which were literally
“ followed, and which have been from that
“ time to the present gradually and progres-
“ sively fulfilling : ‘ Thus I think I have shewed
“ ‘ good cause why the service is set forth in
“ ‘ such sort as it is. *God, for his mercy in Christ,*
“ ‘ *cause the Parliament with one voice to enact*
“ ‘ *it, and the realm with true heart to use it.*’ ”

Extraordinary as it may appear, the life and character of this great man, the principal actor in so great a work, the almoner, and favorite prelate of Queen Elizabeth, the confidential friend of Cecil, Bacon, and Hatton, her illustrious ministers, prominent in all the lists of disputants on the side of the reformed religion at Cambridge and at Westminster, ranking high amongst the first scholars and literary characters of the age, the principal compiler of the present Liturgy, ever since and at the present time in constant and daily use amongst us, has remained unnoticed and unwritten for near three hundred years. Some of the illustrious and venerable ecclesiastics conspicuous in the annals of the Reformation have had their biographers: the lives and characters of Archbishops Parker and Grindal, and Bishop Jewel, have been collected and transmitted to us ; but hitherto the life and character of Edmund Geste has not appeared in any regularly detailed or

authentic form : nothing but casual mention dispersed through the lives of the others, or what may be gleaned from the history of the times in which he lived. From oral tradition, nothing authentic, after the lapse of so many years, can be reasonably expected. On the contrary, tradition has been misinterpreted or misstated; facts have been ignorantly or negligently mistaken or perverted; errors have consequently been multiplied; and vague conjecture often substituted for historical truth. His cotemporaries, however they may have admired his talents, or valued his learning, have left his life unwritten; and their posterity, however they may have eulogized his name, and been benefited by his religious labours, have not supplied the omission. Even in his cathedral, where he presided for many years to the time of his death, where he was buried, and for whose benefit he bequeathed his large and valuable library, nothing in their archives, no entry in their register, no minute of his obsequies are to be found; nothing except his name and the inscription on his tomb. After the lapse of so many years, and the loss of so much opportunity for elucidation, to supply the omission by collection and compilation may be no easy or ordinary task.

The materials are scanty, but they are derived from authentic sources, and are too important in their nature, confer too much well-earned celebrity on the name to which they relate, as a scholar, a moralist, and a di-

vine, and reflect too much light on the sacred scene in which he bore so conspicuous a part, and in the issue of which the world in general, and the English nation in particular, have been for so many years and still continue to be so fearfully and intimately involved, to be suffered any longer to remain in their present state of confusion and uncertainty. Errors may in many instances be rectified; uncertain and vague conjecture may be exchanged for well authenticated fact; scattered fragments embodied into systematic and well-arranged narrative; and thus produce useful historical truth and information.

EDMUND GESTE was the * son of Thomas Geste, of the family of Geste, of Row or Rough Heath, in Worcestershire, and first cousin of William Geste who lived at Holy Grange, in the parish of † Halesowen, in the same county, where he was buried in the year 1589. Row, or Rough Heath, lies in the parish of King's Norton, in the same county. There are no traces of any part of this family in the parish at the present time: and although there are not many entries of the name of Geste in the parish register, there are many in the register of Handsworth, in the county

* Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 700; Cole, MSS. of Provosts and Fellows of King's Coll. Cantab. British Museum, vol. xiv. p. 5; Pedigree of Geste in the Herald's Coll. from Worcestershire Visitation.

† Register Halesowen.

of Stafford, close adjoining, the place of abode* of a branch of the same family for upwards of three hundred years. He was born in the year 1514,† at ‡ Allerton, alias North Allerton, in the county of York. He received the first rudiments of his education in the grammar school of York, and the remaining part of it at Eton, whence, in the year 1536—7,§ at the age of 18, he, together with five others, was admitted scholar of King's College, Cambridge, of which he afterwards became Fellow and Vice-Provost, and took the degree of S. T. B. and S. T. P. in that University. "In which science of Divinity he made (|| as expressed by Strype) great proficiency, and attained notable degrees of knowledge therein." He was Vice-Provost of King's College in the year 1544.¶

From this time to the year 1548, 1st Edward VI. there are no documents to shew his avocations or pursuits; but it may be presumed that he was zealously and diligently employed in the attainment of academical learning, but

* Hands House, so described in the parish register as the abode of the family of Geste.

† Wood, *Ath. Ox.*

‡ Hatcher 108, yr. 1536.

§ Allen's *Skeleton*, vol. ii. p. 575; *Trotscollum* of King's College, Cambridge; Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses*; Tanner's *Bib. Brit. London*. MDCCXLVIII, p. 15; Strype's *Parker*, p. 64.

|| Strype, and Cole, *MSS. Brit. Mus.* vol. i. p. 156; vol. ii. p. 5, et postea.

¶ Reg. Acad.

more particularly in logical, mathematical, and theological research, and the other branches of science then taught in that university ; —literary weapons, which he was afterwards called upon to wield against the supporters of Popish superstition, in the same university, and at Westminster, before the Lord Keeper, the Lords of the Council, and both Houses of Parliament. In that year he appears first to have entered the lists publicly in support of the Reformed doctrine, against the Popish tenets, by “ A Treatise againste the preuee Masse in the behalfe and furtheraunce of the mooste holye communion, made by Edmund Gest, Reade, gentyll reader, and then judge, MDXLVIII, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum : jmprinted in Saynt Andrews Paryshe in the Waredrop by Thomas Raynold. ‘ On the back’ Fautes escaped by the printer.” “ Dedicated : To the right worshipfull Maister Cheke, Scole Maister to the Kynges Majestie and Provost of his worthy colledge in Cambridge.”*

Upon this subject, and with the same view, he wrote many other works, which are particularly enumerated and described by writers of the highest and most unquestionable authority. Bale, *Scriptores*, Bryt. Cent. xii. App. p. 107. ed. Basil ; Tanner’s *Bibl. Brit.* London, A. D. MDCCXLVIII. p. 315 ; Harwood, *Alum.*

* Ames’ *Typog.* by Dibdin, vol. iii. p. 567. Vide Appendix, p. 69.

Eton. 1536; Godwin de Præs., London editions 1601 and 1615, p. 355, No. 39; Cole, MSS. Brit. Mus.; Strype's Parker, p. 64. As the existence of these writings has been called in question and altogether denied by a modern publication, intitled, "The Bishops of Salisbury," it may not be improper in this place to rebut this detraction, by placing the truth in its proper light, and restoring to him the credit of these works, of which the effect of this attempt would be to deprive him. The passage in the publication alluded to runs thus: "Godwin has these words: 'Multa ab hoc episcopo edita sunt opuscula quæ Balæus sigillatim recenset.' Edit. Richardson, p. 355. Fuller also thus writes: Old edit. p. 198; edit. 1811, vol. ii. p. 503. 'John Bale, saith my author (Bishop Godwin, in the Bishops of Sarum), reckoneth up many books made by him of considerable value.' This (says the author of this publication) *is an embellishment*. *Godwin says nothing of their value. He merely calls them opuscula. Fuller's edit. refers to Bale De Scrip. Brit. Cent. IX. Memb. 61. *But on getting up to the fountain-head, these*

* These are Godwin's words: "Edmund Gheast, Doctor of Divinity, some time fellow of King's Colledge, in Cambridge, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, Jan. 21, 1559, and made Almoner to the Queen the same time, whence he was translated to Salisbury, Dec. 24, 1571. Died Febr. 28, 1578, the 63d. year of his age, and was buried in the quire upon the north side of Bishop Wivyll. He writ divers books mentioned by Bale in his Centuries. Godwin, Catal. of Bishops, London. 1615, p. 355, No. 39, and also edit. 1601."

“ works are found never to have had any existence at all, for Bale does not so much as name Bishop Gheast, Geste, or Guest; No. 61 is Miles Coverdale.”

These assertions are not correct, but they plainly prove that this accurate compiler *himself never got to the fountain-head*, otherwise at the end of Cent. duodecima, by John Bale, he might have seen an Appendix entitled, “*Placet his addere scriptores nostræ ætatis,*” &c.; and in p. 107 of that Appendix he might have found an entry by the same John Bale in the following words:—

“*Edmundus Gest bonorum authorum frequentatione ab ipsâ adolescentiâ optimè formatus, in promovendâ veritatis doctrinâ studium omne collocabat ac tandem scripsit.*”

“*Contra Missam Papisticam, Lib. I.**

De Christi Præsentia in Cœnâ, Lib. I.

De Libero Hominis Arbitrio, Lib. I.

Non nullaque alia. Claruit Ann. Dom. 1550.”

All which books are particularized and confirmed as the works of Edmund Geste, by Tanner, Bib. Brit. p. 315.—To which are added, by Tanner, as his additional works:—

A Letter to Sir William Cecil the Queen’s Secretary, concerning the Service Book newly prepared for the Parliament to be confirmed, and certain ceremonies and usages of the Church.†

* Vide Appendix, p. 69.

† Strype, Annals, vol. i. p. 82; Appendix, Tanner, as subter. Vide infra, Appendix, p. 143.

A Sermon preached before Queen Elizabeth MDLX. upon Repentance and Faith, the Manuscript of which is preserved in the Library of Benet's College, Cambridge; text, St. Mark, chap. i. ver. 15. "Repent, and believe the Gospel." *

Epistolam Parkero, concerning the Translation of the Bible.†

Notes and Observations on the Psalms, or rather a translation or revision of the Psalms, for the New Edition of the Bible designed by Archbishop Parker.‡

An Answer to the Reasons advanced by the Puritans, that the Apparel of Priests ought not to be worn, by which it will appear that the Apparel of Priests may be worn.§

A Translation, for Parker's Edition of the Bible, of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, from the Greek original in the present version.||

Having thus restored to Bishop Geste his right as the author of these writings, and that good name which in the estimation and accurate knowledge of Bale and other writers had been so justly conferred upon him, but which modern presumption and self-sufficiency had

* In C. C. C. Cantab. Miscell. D 277; Tanner, Bib. Brit. Vide infra, Appendix, p. 179.

† Ibid. 1, Miscell. 463. Vide infra.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 208. Vide Appendix, p. 141.

§ Tanner, *ibid.*; and Strype's Parker, Appendix, p. 54, and *infra*, Appendix, p. 201.

|| Strype's Parker, p. 404; Progress of Knowledge in England; Borlace, 1819, Edit. temp. Eliz.

erroneously attempted to filch from him, we now return from this digression to the narrative of his life and character.

The celebrity which the writings above mentioned had given him, soon drew him into the arena of religious controversy.

Subjects alike interesting for their novelty and importance had long provoked inquiry, and were still continuing to agitate the public mind. Claims for religious superiority urged on the ecclesiastics, and considerations of temporal as well as spiritual interests, absorbed the laity. England, Europe, every part of the civilized world were involved in the cause and interested in the result.

The two first and most conspicuous combatants, Henry and Luther, were now dead, leaving the contest undecided and open to fresh discussion. New combatants arose, and in England public and general attention was directed to the two universities. Martyr and Bucer, two learned foreigners, had been appointed by royal authority, the one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge, to read lectures and instruct the students in the doctrine of the reformed religion. The tenets advanced by them were opposed by the Papists. The warmth of these disputes rose to such an height as to engage the attention of the government; and upon being referred to the privy council,* public dis-

* Strype's Cranmer, p. 203.

putations were directed to be held at both universities, and commissioners were appointed to superintend and regulate their management.* Ridley, then bishop of Rochester, (afterwards the fatal victim of Popish persecution,) Thomas, bishop of Ely, Drs. May and Wendy, with Maister Cheke, were the commissioners sent to Cambridge in June 1549. The subject to be discussed was Transubstantiation, or the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.

The disputations, which are given at length by Fox in the second volume of his *Book of Martyrs*, took up three days. Edmund Geste was, with others, selected to support the negative, and Dr. Glyn and others the affirmative side of this question. On the third day the bishop of Rochester determined the question in the negative, and in a learned adjudication gave his judgment against the doctrine of the corporal presence.

At this period, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the present improved state of the human intellect, it may be superfluous to repeat at length the arguments made use of in these disputations; they are to be found given at large on both sides in Fox's *Martyrology*, and are more remarkable for the theological and syllogistic form in which they were carried on, than for any difference in the substance of reason

* Burnet's Ref. vol. ii. 107.

† Fox, *Martyr*. vol. ii. London, 1684.

or arguments with which the same proposition would be maintained at the present time. But as we have seen, and are daily seeing, the most alarming changes, accompanied with the most vicious licentiousness, produced under the specious pretence of liberality of thought and action, upon religious as well as political subjects, and as similar attempts may be made under the like pretences, to draw the uninformed and unwary again into a belief and adoption of these rejected absurdities and antiquated and exploded opinions of the Romish church, it may not be amiss to strip these disputations of their technical and scholastic attire, and present them in their plain and naked form of reason and truth.

In the annals of human nature, and the copious history of the infirmities of the human mind, it would be difficult to discover a more perverted misconstruction of meaning, or a more flagrant perversion of common sense, than the construction which the supporters of the doctrine of transubstantiation impute to the words of Christ, in his institution of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. No part of the Christian profession has been more controverted or more perverted. The first institution of it ordained by its divine Founder is so plain and simple, that, except the words "*This is my body*," there is nothing that can give any sort of colour to the corruptions which have arisen from it. The primitive Christians re-

tained the first simplicity of this divine institution for some ages: afterwards they introduced processions, and gaudy and pompous ceremonies, with the view of multiplying proselytes, and drawing the Gentiles more easily into their belief. Yet it became not so flagrantly and generally corrupt, until the irruption of the barbarous nations upon the dissolution of the Roman empire, when all learning and science was lost, and ignorance and superstition took their place. The high opinion then had of the sacrament being mainly attributable to the corporal presence of Christ, it soon became corrupted by the frauds and arts practised by the ingenuity of a crafty and self-interested priesthood upon the ignorance and credulity of a deluded people. "All the vessels and garments belonging to its rites were consecrated and anointed with much pomp and devotion; the whole office was performed in words unknown to and not understood by the congregation; a great part was to be silently whispered, to make it appear the more wonderful. But chiefly the words of consecration were by no means to be heard or audibly pronounced. The priests were not to approach but after many bowings, crossings, and kissings of the altar, and through the whole office the people were only now and then blessed with a short ejaculation, 'The Lord be with you,' and that in a language they did not understand. *After the consecration the bread was lifted up on high, and all the people fell down and wor-*

shipped it." It was often exposed on the altar, and carried about in procession with flambeaux before it, the priest who carried it going pompously all the while under a rich canopy.

The truth or falsehood of this doctrine rests upon this plain and simple proposition : Do we in the commemoration of the Lord's supper, "*eat the very body and drink the very blood of Christ himself?*" Or do we, by eating the bread and drinking the wine, eat the bread and drink the wine *as symbols of his body and blood*, and do it according to his commands, in remembrance of him, and of the act he was then about to perform, the sacrifice of himself upon the cross, for the remission of their sins and of the sins of the world ?

In forming a true judgment upon these words, we ought to take into our consideration the fact, that all the members of this holy communion were *Israelites ; of the seed of Abraham, followers of Moses, their divine leader and law-giver ; born and educated in a religion characterized above all others for the significant use of types and symbols in all its ritual observances ;* and which, together with the prophecies and predictions of their prophets, they were taught to look upon as prefigurative of one great event, to which all their future expectations were directed, and which at that very time was about to be finally accomplished in the person of their great Lord and Master, the Redeemer of Israel and the Saviour of mankind. The words used by our Saviour in

his institution of this sacrament, and from which alone the doctrine of transubstantiation can be maintained or denied, as given by St. Matthew, chap. xxvi. ver. 26. and by St. Mark, chap. xiv. ver. 22. are these : “ *Take, eat, this is my body ;*” or as given by St. Luke, chap. xxii. ver. 19. (there is no account of it by St. John,) thus, “This is my body, which is given for you ; this do in remembrance of me.”

And the real question is, whether these words, spoken by such a person, and addressed to such hearers, were intended to be understood in a *literal* or in a *figurative* sense. To maintain the doctrine of transubstantiation, the construction given to these words must be this, *Take, eat this my body*. This could not be his meaning, because it would have been contrary to the fact. ‘They did not take or eat his body. His body was not prepared, nor was it eaten ; neither could he mean, take, eat this (bread), *which is my body*, now prepared and broken for your eating, because his body was neither prepared nor was it broken for their eating ; therefore these words were not spoken in their literal sense. But it is most plain that the words, “Take, eat, this is my body,” could not be meant by our Saviour, or received by his disciples, in any other than a figurative sense, that being the common and accustomed mode of expression used by them both in their religious rites and the dialect of their language. *Take, eat*. What? My body, which has not been

prepared, and which has not been broken for your eating? No. Or, Take, eat this bread, which has been prepared, and which I have broken for your eating, *as my body*? No. Because my body, which has not been prepared or broken, and the bread which has been prepared and broken, are not one and the same, but two distinct and different things, and now visible as such to your eyes; but take, eat this bread which has been prepared, and which I now break for your eating, as the symbol or figure of my body, and which is now about to be offered up by me upon the cross as a sacrifice (in full and final accomplishment of all the types and prophecies that have foretold and prefigured it) for the sins of yourselves and all mankind; and whenever you, or any of my followers in future, celebrate this supper, eat bread and drink wine, as we do now, and do it in remembrance of me.

What can be more plain, rational, and intelligible, than this construction? subject to no doubt, admitting of no cavil, productive of no dispute, containing no mystery, and intelligible to every one. On the contrary, the other construction is all mystery, productive of endless dispute, leading to every absurdity, unintelligible to human comprehension, and therefore intelligible to no one. And were any thing further wanting to prove the construction to be figurative and symbolical, the construction put upon them by our Saviour himself is decisive.

upon the question, St. John, ch. vi. v. 32.* “But my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven.” Ver. 33. “The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world;” and ver. 35. *I am the bread of life*; and ver. 48. “He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.” These expressions, as here used by him, are entirely figurative, and not literal.

The disputations above referred to, and the works written upon the subject by Edmund Geste, had given so much celebrity and confidence in his theological learning and religious principles, that in the next year, March 1550, he was licensed by the government† to preach, at which time he had taken the degree of Batchelor of Divinity,‡ being then thirty-six years of age. At the commencement at Cambridge, in 1552, a divinity disputation, in which Christopher Carlisle was defendant,§ Dr. Geste argued against him, in defence of our Saviour’s descent into hell. This should seem to have been a disputation upon the same subject, which was afterwards, in the year 1567, revived in Cambridge when Sir William Cecil was chancellor, and managed with so much heat that he was obliged to call in the advice of Archbishop Parker || to allay it.

* See also ver. 48. and subsequent verses.

† Strype’s Memorials, vol. ii. p. 524.

‡ Fasti, Cantab.; Cole, MS.

§ See Preface to Carlisle’s Discourse.

|| Strype’s Parker, p. 258.

Although considerable progress had at this time been made in favour of the reformed religion by the king and parliament, as well as by the nation, and although the communion service book had been enjoined by public authority for the public use of all the churches, yet the great body of the Papists, headed and encouraged by the Princess Mary, heir-presumptive to the crown, clung with unshaken constancy and unrelenting ardor to their relics and superstitious ceremonies; and though forbidden by the state, refused to renounce them. Their idols, images, and other relics were everywhere broken or defaced by the people, and discouraged by the government, yet the mass continued to be secretly performed. This religious warfare now raged in every direction, and kept alive (as it incessantly was) in the schools and the pulpit, produced bitter animosities and mutual unchristian recrimination. "Much harm was done in disaffecting the people by seditious and contentious preaching;"* the public peace thus became disturbed, and endeavours to restrain even its own adherents within the bounds of decorum, by enjoining an unity of doctrine and uniformity of worship, proving altogether fruitless, other restrictions more coercive became necessary. Even the order of ecclesiastics, the very bishops themselves, were prohibited from

* Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 90.

preaching without a licence, and they were granted only to men whose opinions upon the question in dispute were known and approved, and who were temperate in the use of them. They were granted by the Protector and the Archbishop of Canterbury only.

Geste, Parker, Jewell, Grindal, Coverdale, Pilkington, and other men of this description, were amongst the licensed. From this period to the death of Edward in 1553, history supplies no particular accounts of the life and actions of Edmund Geste; but we know that during that interval the pure word of God grew *mightily and prevailed*; and judging from the zealous and conspicuous traits by which he had distinguished himself in his past life, and the complete success which crowned his future efforts in this great work, we may confidently affirm that under the guidance of Divine Providence he continued an humble though steadfast and efficient instrument in its support.

On the accession of Mary, a storm arose that threatened in its fury desolation to the state, and *gross darkness to the people*. The religion of the state was suddenly and radically changed. All the statutes passed in the former reign to promote the reformed religion, were at once with one fell swoop repealed.

The supremacy of the court of Rome was acknowledged, and Popery, with all its glaring absurdities and superstitious ceremonies, was again, by the proclamation of royal authority,

imposed upon the people. The tongs of the smith, the line and rule of the carpenter, were everywhere employed in the manufacture of new idols and images for the adoration of the people, which, had they been suffered to read their Bible, that Bible would have taught them to reject with abomination, as impious and profane. The secret hordes of the priest were everywhere thrown open, whence sacred images and wonder-working relics, attended with gaudy pageantry and profane processions, issued forth in abundant profusion. Mary inherited many of the vices of her father, to which she added many more of her own. Tyranny, rapacity, jealousy, caprice, passion, and obstinacy, were the marked features of his character; while obstinate bigotry, implacable revenge, unrelenting cruelty, rapacious avarice, craft, and intolerance, were peculiarly her own. Rome could not have found a mind more characteristic of itself, nor a reckless instrument more willingly subservient to its designs. At the same time the accidental circumstances of the age gave life and vigour to these natural propensities of her nature. In her estimation the mildness of her brother's government, and its tolerance in the peaceable exercise of her own religion, though in defiance of its injunctions, which she at the time complained of and remonstrated against, were insults and injuries which she was now determined to retaliate and revenge. These amiable traits of her nature

she now summoned into immediate action, and when they were not sufficiently severe she scrupled not to violate every law of mercy and humanity in their aid. Heresy in all its varied and motley forms was hunted after by her agents, and imprisonments upon rumour and suspicion, punishment without trial, fines and confiscations, were the merciful precursors of the wheel, the stake, and the gibbet. These persecutions, so unusual to the habits, so repugnant to the feelings of the English people, created universal horror. Men most celebrated for honest lives, moderate religious principles, and unsullied reputation, became daily victims to their rage. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and many others equally spotless, were sacrificed for opposition to their faith. All were struck with consternation and dismay. Some entered into voluntary exile as the only means of escaping its dreadful effects, and left their native country for Switzerland and Germany. Others remained at home, patiently and intrepidly awaiting their expected martyrdom to the cause. Amongst the latter was Edmund Geste, who had borne no obscure part, but had been most prominent in his opposition to the Popish tenets, by his public disputations in the schools, by his private and incessant labours in the closet and the pulpit, as an advocate and an author, whence it might have been reasonably expected that the devouring flame, which had consumed the ashes of the meek

and impartial Ridley, who presided at those disputations, and adjudicated against them, might have been kindled also under him who had been assisting hostilely in the same disputations, and had been instrumental in the defeat. However, he did not depart the kingdom, as many others of his persuasion did, but kept himself secret, often changing his habitation for greater security. "Bullingham, a Worcestershire man, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, well versed in the canon and civil law, and Geste, a great student in divinity, and arrived at notable degrees of knowledge therein, (as Strype says,) were companions together. These two * tarried in England under Queen Mary's reign, but often changed their holes and lurking places, where they hid themselves for their preservation." In this state of peril, seclusion, and continual apprehension, he lived until the accession of Elizabeth in 1558. His safety through such scenes of alarm and appalling danger, can be attributed only to the prudence in his habits of life, the moderation of his principles, and the unobtrusive forbearance of his demeanour.

* "Nicolaus Bullingham in jure civili et canonico institutus et regnante Edwardo Lincolniensis Episcopus; et Edmundus Geste in sacra theologiâ multo studio magnâque laudo versatus ex familiâ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopi et Archidiaconatus Cantuar. Roffen: Diocesi præfectus est. Hi duo in angliâ, regnante Mariâ, Pontificiis dominantibus latebras quæsierunt, easque crebro Pontificorum exploratoribus vix tutò esse poterunt crebro mutaverunt."

Having thus weathered this tremendous storm, new and more cheering prospects of confidence in his safety, and success in the sacred cause he had so much at heart, presented themselves to his view. He now beheld the Protestant Queen, with her wise and wary ministers, Cecil and Bacon, proceeding with moderate, yet firm and decided steps, in the progress and completion of this great work ; without compulsion, without violence, reconciling differences, removing obstacles, making religion, as far as practicable, intelligible and acceptable to all, because all were called upon to comply and obey ;—proceeding to effect this great design by agents the most temperate, and means the most conciliating, calculated to remove every conscientious fair-grounded scruple, and to silence every objection. Parker, chaplain of the Queen's amiable and innocent mother, though reluctantly, after repeated solicitations, and as it were by gentle force, was appointed to the arduous and important office of Archbishop of Canterbury ; a man eminently qualified by his fortitude, his moderation, his humility, his experience, and in every other respect, except his bodily infirmity and his poverty, for that weighty task. Although fixed upon for that office in December 1558, his *congé d' élire** did not pass the dean and chapter until August 1559, and he was not

* Strype's Parker, p. 52, 57.

consecrated till 17th December 1559, which took place in the chapel of Lambeth,† when Edmund Geste, who had been, according to Tanner, Bib. Brit. MDCCXLVIII. p. 315, ‡ “regnum ineunte Elizabetha Archidiaconus Cantuar. factus, consecrationi M. Parkeri Archiepiscopo Cantuar. A. D. MDLIX. tanquam § Capellanus ejus interfuit.” “Geste also, if I mistake not, is his chaplain, a Yorkshireman, || of whom great use was made in settling the affair of the reformation in Queen Elizabeth’s reign, to whom he was almoner. He was also archdeacon of Canterbury and bishop of Rochester, and afterwards removed to Sarum. Of this man we have had occasion to speak in this history and elsewhere.”

Aware of the disposition which now became apparent in the Queen and her ministers to encourage the reformed religion, the Popish clergy were beginning to declaim loudly and openly against heresy and innovation, and to stir up the people, by addresses from the closet and the pulpit, to acts of seditious opposition and rebellious insubordination to the state. The restriction in preaching without licence having been first resorted to, proved in-

† Strype’s Parker, p. 52, 57.

‡ Le Neve, Fasti, p. 13; Somner, Antiq. Cantab. p. 35; Strype’s Parker, p. 522.

§ Tanner, *ibid*; Cole, MSS. vol. i. p. 156; vol. xiv. p. 51.

|| Strype’s Parker, vol. i. p. 522.

sufficient, and the public mind was now alive on every side to religious controversy. To prepare the way, therefore, for that uniformity in doctrine and worship which was considered necessary for the security of the state and the peace of society, and following the precedents of former reigns, it was determined to set these controversies at rest by a public conference in the abbey church at Westminster.† The points to be discussed and decided were:—

First: Whether it was not against the word of God and the custom of the ancient church to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments?

Secondly: Whether every church had not authority to appoint, change, and take away ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same were done to edification?

Thirdly: Whether it could be proved by the word of God that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living?

These questions were propounded by the Queen in council, and the terms of conference having being proposed to the archbishop of York, and by him to the Popish bishops, they (though some very unwillingly) assented, and the 30th March was fixed as the first day of the conference. The bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, Chester, Carlisle, and Lincoln, with Drs.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 388.

Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedsey, were appointed on the Popish ; and Drs. Scory, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Horn, Geste, Jewel, and Aylmer, on the Protestant side.

Bacon, Lord Keeper, presided.

A meeting of this description, remarkable for its novelty, its solemnity, and its importance, excited, as it deserved, universal interest and attention. The Privy Council, the Lords, and the whole House of Commons came to hear it. The order of debate was prescribed and regulated by the Council board. It was to be conducted in writing. The bishops, as being actually in office, were to read their papers first. The Protestants were then to read theirs. This was assented to on both sides. Both sides having read their respective papers, the Protestants gave in theirs to the lord keeper, signed, to be delivered to the other side, and to receive theirs in return, which the Papists, under various pretences and with various excuses, declined to do ; and on the next day appointed for proceeding in the conference, being desired to go on, absolutely refused, proposing to reverse the order of conference laid down by the Council board, and at length denying the authority of that or any similar power to interfere in the regulation of the Catholic church as then established, and under their jurisdiction, except by a synod of divinity. This flagrant and unfair departure from the terms of the conference, which had

been assented to by both sides, drew down the general disapprobation of the assembly, the two estates of the realm, and the rest of the audience, in signs too plain to be misunderstood, and which raised great prejudice against their cause. Being pressed again and again most courteously and individually by the president, the lord keeper, they persisted in their refusal, and at length broke up the conference. Upon the second and third points, therefore, there was no conference; but, as Strype says,* a learned and excellent discourse in writing was prepared by the Protestant side, and inserted in the appendix to the first volume of his *Annals*, p. 42. No. xvi., and composed by Jewel or Geste. The conference being thus ended, the Queen and her council found the parliament and the nation in a better disposition to pass the bill for the uniformity of the service, and the establishment of the Protestant Church. And this bill passed accordingly in the session of parliament which ended on the 8th of May, 1st Eliz.

Thus was accomplished this great national establishment of church and state, peaceably and efficiently, without compulsion, without violence, without persecution, without bloodshed, but not without the most strenuous struggle, and most persevering opposition. Some of the reformed divines had been previously

* Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 92.

appointed to revive King Edward's Liturgy, and to add to, and if in any particular it were fit, to change it; the main design of the Queen being to unite the nation in one faith, and one form of worship.*

What share Edmund Geste had in this work appears from Strype and other historians of that period.

Strype, in his *Annals*, vol. i. p. 82, after passing an encomium on Sir William Cecil, "who by his wisdom, diligence, and influence with the Queen, was mainly instrumental in accelerating the adoption of the English liturgy, and removing the great obstacles to the reformation of religion,"† says, "he appointed Geste, a very learned man, afterwards archdeacon of Canterbury and bishop of Rochester, to be joined with the rest of the revisors of the book, and as I [Strype] conjecture, in the absence of Parker, absent some part of the time by reason of sickness. Him the secretary required diligently to compare both King Edward's communion books together, and from them both to frame a book for the use of the Church of England, by correcting and amending, altering, adding, and taking away, according to his judgment and the ancient liturgies; which when he had done, and a new service book being finished by him and the

* Cole, MSS. vol. i. p. 156. and vol. xiv. p. 5.

† Ibid Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 82.

others appointed thereunto, the said Geste conveyed it unto the secretary, together with a letter to him, containing his reasons for his own emendations and alterations, and therein particular satisfaction given to divers things, many whereof seem to have been hints and questions of the secretary pursuant to the settlement of the liturgy.

“ As, 1st : Whether such ceremonies as were lately taken away by King Edward’s book, might not be resumed, not being evil in themselves ?

“ 2ndly : Whether the image of the cross was to be retained ?

“ 3rdly : Whether processions should not be used ?

“ 4thly : Whether, in the celebration of the communion, priests should wear a cope, besides a surplice ?

“ 5thly : Whether the communion should be divided into two parts, (that is, the office or book of the communion,) and whether a part thereof should be read to all without distinction, and another to the communicants only, the rest being departed ?

“ 6thly : Whether the creed is rightly placed in the communion office, as though it were to be repeated by the communicants only ?

“ 7thly : Whether it be not convenient to continue the use of praying for the dead in the communion ?

“ 8thly : Whether the prayer of consecration

in the first communion book should be left out?

“9thly: Whether the sacrament were, according to the first book, to be received into the communicant’s mouth, or to be delivered into his hand?

“ Whether the sacrament was to be received standing or kneeling?

“ To all these Geste gave learned answers,* and thereby vindicated what alterations were newly made in that book prepared to be laid before the parliament. And by this writing it appears that the main care of the revisal and preparation of this book lay upon this† reverend divine, whom I suppose Parker recommended to the secretary to supply his absence; and for his pains was soon afterwards‡ by him, when archbishop, rewarded with the archdeaconry of Canterbury. But Geste having shewed, as he thought, good cause why the service was set forth by him and his company as it was, concludes his letter, “ *beseeching God for his mercy in Christ to cause the parliament with one voice to enact it, and the realm with true hearts to use it.*”

“ This discourse of Geste, shewing him to have been a solid and well-read man, I have transcribed from the original, and put in among the monuments in the end of the book.”

* Strype, Annals, vol. i. Append. p. 38. No. xiv.

† Cole, MSS. vol. xiv. p. 5, et infra.

‡ 13th Oct. 1559.

“It appears by Geste’s papers that the posture of receiving the sacrament either kneeling or standing was left indifferent in the book of the divines, and that every one might follow the one way or the other, for this reason, to teach men that it was lawful to receive either way. But the parliament, I suppose, made a change, enjoining the ancient posture of kneeling, as it was in the old book. The particular exceptions that were made to this book when it lay before the parliament, I cannot tell, but I find Boxal, who was dean of Windsor, and had been secretary to Queen Mary, and still, it seems, at court, found much fault with one passage in the communion office, namely, that in the consecration of the elements there was not a thanksgiving:—for Christ, he said, took bread and gave thanks, and in the consecration now they give not thanks. This he put into the lord treasurer’s head, and endeavoured, according to the interests he had with the Queen, to alienate her from passing it. The divines gave their reasons for what they did; and their particular reason for this may be seen in Geste’s papers before said. But by the means of Secretary Cecil and the great esteem the Queen had for him, the divines were in good hope their enemies should not prevail, and they were not deceived.”

For these meritorious services, the Queen appointed him first archdeacon of Canterbury. Upon Parker being made archbishop, he as

archdeacon was to have enthronized the archbishop, but being hindered by urgent affairs, as he says in his letter to the chapter of that cathedral, dated January 1st, 1559, he deputed some of the chapter to do that office for him. The business* is supposed to have been his getting his papers† in order for being preferred to the see of Rochester; and accordingly on the 21st January 1559, Geste, as bishop of Rochester, together with Young, as bishop of St. Davids, Bolingham, or Bullingham, as bishop of Lincoln, Jewell, as bishop of Salisbury, and Davis, as bishop of St. Asaph, were consecrated at Lambeth chapel by Archbishop Parker. It should seem difficult to reconcile the discrepancy which appears in different writers, as to the time of his consecration as bishop of Rochester. Strype, in his *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 154, and in his *Life of Parker*, p. 63, gives the 21st January 1559, as the day on which his consecration took place. On the other hand, Le Neve, *Fasti*, p. 251, gives 29th January 1559; and Rymer, vol. xv. p. 580, says he was elected 29th January 1559, confirmed March 23rd, consecrated at Lambeth the next day, and had his temporalities restored May 3rd, 1560.

About this time he appears to have been promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury

* Cole, MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. i. p. 154; vol. xiv. p. 5, &c.

† Strype's *Parker*, p. 63; Wood. *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 690.

in the county of Kent, and the rectory of Cliff in the same county. For in the "Catalogue of vacant benefices, with learned spiritual persons who are unprovided for," being given to Secretary Cecil, in the first appears the rectory of Cliff in the county of Kent, and amongst others the name of Ghest,* and finding him soon after in possession of the rectory, he was no doubt provided with the same at this juncture; for in the year 1560, Archbishop Parker sent to all the bishops of the provinces for an exact account of the dioceses, and of each incumbent in their several benefices; and in the *Certificatorium* sent from Canterbury (the original of which is now in C. C. C. C. from whence this concerning Edmund Ghest,) amongst the dignitaries of that cathedral, is transcribed, namely, "Edmund Ghest,† *Archidiaconus Baccalaureus Theologiæ Episcopus Roffensis, non conjugatus doctus non residet, viz. apud Cantuar. sed in aulâ licentiatuſ rector de Cliff.*"

A considerable increase to the income of this vicarage (which arose from the tithe of fish, and was very small) was made in the year 1570, by Archbishop Parker, in conjunction with Archdeacon Geste, by augmenting the vicarage with the tithe of hay and corn,‡ before belonging to the appropriate parsonage

* Cole, MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. xiv. p. 5, &c.

† Ibid.

‡ Hasted's Kent, vol. iv. p. 283.

of this church, reserving to the archdeacon in lieu thereof a yearly pension of 40s.

We find also that in two lists* of Sir William Cecil in 1559, one entitled, "Spiritual Persons without promotion at present;" and the other, "List of eminent characters," out of which some were already pitched upon for the chief preferments; the name of Ghest appears in both.

In another, being an account of the manner in which the vacant sees were all filled, (which was the work of two years before the church was complete,) and who they were on whom this weighty charge was laid, containing the names, dioceses, countries, ages, degrees of school, universities, orders, and dates of their respective consecration and confirmation, taken out of the antiquities of Canterbury, is the following:—

Diocese	Name	Country	Age	Degree of School	University	Order	Date of Consecration and Confirmation
Rochester	Edmund Guest	Yorkshire	LI	Batchelor in Divinity	Cambridge	Secular Priest	Jan. 21st. 1559

He kept his archdeaconry of Canterbury in commendum with his bishopric, and was appointed chancellor† of the most noble Order of

* Strype, Annals, vol. i. p. 154.

† Such are the words of Cole, in the first volume of his manuscript accounts of Bishop Geste. The same fact is repeated by him in his subsequent accounts on the same subject in his fourteenth volume; and in both he gives the bishop's arms blazoned

the Garter, and almoner† of the Queen, for more than twelve years, who had a great value for him, as appears from his last-mentioned office, and would not listen to the recommendation of Archbishop Parker and Sir William Cecil, who would fain have persuaded her to have made him bishop of Durham, as being a north-

and quartered with the arms of the see of Salisbury, encircled with the garter, the badge of the order.

The office of Chancellor of the order was created by letters patent of 15th Edward IV, (Ashmole, Institutions, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Order), and in consideration that the chapel of St. George in Windsor was founded in the diocese of Salisbury, Richard Beauchamp, the then bishop of Salisbury, was appointed to the office of chancellor for life ; and the king did further will that after his decease, his successors, bishops of Salisbury, should always have and hold the said office of chancellor.

From this time the bishops of Salisbury continued therein, and executed the office ; nor does it appear by the record of the order that any other person had been invested therein besides the bishops of Salisbury, until the 7th Edward VI, when Sir William Cecil, then secretary of state, was made chancellor, being the first layman appointed to that office ; and, notwithstanding the grants thereof to the bishops of Salisbury, had been confirmed by a charter of 4th Elizabeth, which recognised and confirmed the statutes of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Queen Mary, which statutes also recited and confirmed their rights thereto : the rights thus slept until the 12th Charles I, when the claim thereto was made by John Davenant, the then bishop of Salisbury, and his claim was referred to the chapter of the order, to be by them decided, who declined interfering therein. The said claim being again brought forward and considered, the king determined that the same was not a question to be decided by the rules of common law, nor within the jurisdiction of the judges, but ought to be settled by the rule of the order, "*Suprema lex suprema voluntas*," &c. pronounced that the bishop's claims should be heard. Thus the right stood until

countryman, which they made use of as one argument to her majesty in the year 1560, upon the death of Cuthbert Tunstall. Fuller observes, "He must be both a wise and good man whom she could trust with her purse; but notwithstanding her great favor to him, and the archbishop's recommendation, she could not

the 1st James I, (the said office in the interval being executed by laymen,) when, at a chapter held by his majesty the sovereign, the knights companions, and all the officers of the order, and called for the express purpose of considering the petition of Dr. Seth Ward, then bishop of Salisbury, claiming the office of chancellor of the order, in behalf of himself and his successors, bishops of Salisbury, the sovereign and companions present, being fully satisfied with the justness of the claim, unanimously decreed and ordained that the bishop of Sarum and his successors for ever should receive and enjoy all rights, privileges, and advantages thereunto belonging, immediately upon the vacancy of the office.

Notwithstanding this recognition and confirmation of the right *de jure* in the bishops of Sarum, the office has been *de facto* executed by prelates of other sees; the bishops of Sarum not filling the office, but contenting themselves with quartering and using their own arms with those of the see of Sarum, and encircling them with the garter, as described by Cole in the engraving.—Cole, MSS. vol. xiv. p. 5; and vol. i. p. 156.

† Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. i. p. 690; Godwin, p. 355; Cole, MSS. Brit. Mus.—Cole, in his Manuscript, Brit. Mus. vol. xiv. p. 5, also says, "Queen Elizabeth, 13th October 1559, nominated him archdeacon of Canterbury, having well deserved that and all other preferments she afterwards bestowed upon him, for his pain and diligence in revising the two liturgies of King Edward, and framing from them the present one in use in the Church of England, and of which he had the chief arrangement; which both shews his great abilities and the opinion which Archbishop Parker and Secretary Cecil (by whom he was employed) had of him."

be prevailed upon to remove him to Durham in 1560.

During the time that he was bishop of Rochester, namely, in the year 1563,* he, in his character of almoner to the Queen, sued the sheriffs of London for the sum of £330, being the produce of the goods and chattels of a person who had committed suicide in that city, whereby the same had become forfeited to the crown: the Queen had allotted all proceeds arising from such cases to her almoner, for charitable purposes, which he recovered and afterwards received.

In the year 1568, a remarkable instance of the craft and diligence which the Papists had shewn in opposition to the reformed religion, by open violence and secret intrigue, appeared in the person† of Thomas Hethe, a Jesuit, brother of Nicholas, late archbishop of York, in the reign of Queen Mary. He was sent over by the Jesuits, with instructions, under the cloak or profession of a Puritanical minister or preacher of the reformed religion, carefully to mix erroneous doctrines of the foreign Anabaptists, Arians, and Enthusiasts, with those of the Puritans, and to disseminate them through the nation.

This man, after thus preaching up and down the country for one year, applied to the dean of Rochester, as a poor minister desiring prefer-

* Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 407.

† *Ibid.* p. 556.

ment. The dean gave him a turn of preaching in that cathedral. By hap in the pulpit he let fall out of his pocket a letter writ to him by the name of Thomas Fine, from one Malt, an eminent English Jesuit in Madrid, which contained the directions how he was to manage himself in his mission. This letter was taken up by the sexton, and brought to the bishop, Geste: he examined him, and made so close a use of this letter, that he made him confess himself a Jesuit. After this they searched his chamber, where, in his boots, were found beads and a licence from the Jesuits, and a bull from Pius V. to preach what doctrine that society pleased, for dividing the Protestants, particularly English Protestants; and in his trunk books against infant baptism, and divers dangerous papers stuffed with blasphemies. In the month of November, he had his sentence from the bishop. He died in a few months after, not without suspicion of poisoning himself. This is taken out of the register of the see of Rochester.

About this time the nation was very sensible of the Papists, who had flocked about the court and sheltered themselves in the houses of persons of the best quality and reputation.* The Queen now issued her commands to her counsellors, that all Papists should be banished her court, which was done, to the true Protestants' great joy thereat. The archbishop himself, by

* Strype, *ibid.* Parker. p. 267.

a command, turned out of his family some persons who were discovered to be so disposed.

Soon after the uniformity of worship in the church had been established, it appears to have been the policy of the Queen and her ministers, to effect more order, regularity, and decorum in the performance of the service and in the dress or habits of its ministers. This had long been enjoined by the Queen: in consequence of the variety and confusion occasioned by those ministers in performing the service, and in the use of their habits, which excited great offence in its friends, and ridicule in its enemies, and on that account had been universally complained of; all uniformity in the clergy, in the habits they wore, and the rites they performed, having been entirely disregarded.

Service and Prayer.] “Some say the service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some say the same in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their face to the people; some keep precisely the order of the book, others intermeddle psalms in metre; some say with a surplice, others without a surplice.*

The Table.] “The table standeth in the body of the church in some places, in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altarwise distant from the wall a yard; in some others in the middle of the chancel,

* Strype's Parker, p. 152.

north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it standeth upon tressels. In some places the table hath a carpet, in others it hath not.

Administration of the Communion.] “Some with a surplice and cap, some with surplice alone, others with none; some with chalice, others with a common cup; some with unleavened bread, some with leavened bread; some (he might have added) with wafers, some with manchet bread.

Receiving.] “Some receiving kneeling, others standing, others sitting.

Baptizing.] “Some baptize in a font, some in a basin; some sign with a cross, others sign not; some minister with a surplice, others without.

Apparel.] “Some with a square, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat; some in scholars’ cloaths, some in others.”

The rigid and more conscientious parts of the reformers, calling themselves Puritans, viewed these habits, utensils, and ceremonies with abhorrence, as relics of Popery; and, encouraged by the Earl of Leicester, who appeared as their head, steadily and absolutely refused to adopt them, struggling for their total abolition.

The Queen and her wary ministers, intending to steer a middle course, with the view of uniting all, resolved to enjoin the use of such of the old habits as were indifferent, and to

reject those that were most offensive and obnoxious.

The reasons advanced by the Puritans for their rejection, were collected, and maturely weighed and considered, and answers were given to them by the archbishop and other ecclesiastics. Amongst others, an excellent answer was given to each of them by Geste,* (in 1564) then bishop of Rochester, in a very clear, distinct and logical method, well worthy the perusing. The paper is superscribed by Cecil in his own hand,† “Reasons pro Αδιαφοροις.”

The Queen, after again enjoining a general compliance, issued her directions to the archbishop and other bishops as commissioners to enforce them, threatening all nonconformists with ecclesiastical censures and deprivation of their benefices. In London this schism prevailed more particularly. The 24th March, 1564,‡ was the day fixed for the beginning of this reformation and uniformity in the ministers’ habits, when the use of the scholars’ gown and cap was enjoined by special order from the Queen, directed to the archbishop and all the rest of the bishops, for the purpose of quieting these stirrings and contentions amongst the parochial clergy.

The surplice to be worn || at all divine administrations, and the observation of the Book

* Strype’s Parker, p. 171 ; Cole, MSS. Brit. Mus.

† Strype’s Parker, Appendix, p. 54. No. xxxi.

‡ Strype’s Grindal, p. 98.

|| Ibid.

of Common Prayer, as was appointed by the statute and the rubric of the said book ; and subscription required to all this, or else a sequestration immediately to follow ; and after three months' standing out, a deprivation *ipso facto*.

On this memorable 24th March, the number that appeared at Lambeth was 140, whereof 30 only did not subscribe, who were immediately suspended, and not conforming within three months, were to be deprived.

For this purpose Thomas Cole, a clergyman, being placed by the side of the said commissioners in priestly apparel, the bishop's chancellor addressed them in these words :—" My brethren, and ye ministers of London, the Council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel like the man who stands here canonically habited, with a square cap and scholar's gown, priestlike : ye that subscribe, write *volo* ; those who will not subscribe, write *nolo*. Be brief, make no words." Some of the clergy offered to speak ; but he interrupted and cried, " Peace, peace,—apparitor, call over the churches, and 'ye Masters,' answer personally *subpœnâ contemptûs*."*

Amongst those who were sent up from the dioceses were two very eminent men from Oxford, Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christchurch, and Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalene, who although urged to comply,

* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p 188.

upon the authority of Bucer and Martyr, remained immoveable in their refusal, and were eventually deprived of their preferments.

Such appear to have been the causes and such the original grounds upon which the sect of Dissenters first separated themselves from the forms (we cannot say substantial or essential doctrine) of the established church : and men of liberal minds may smile when they observe “ *what mighty contests rise from trivial things,*” and with what stubborn tenacity they have been since persisted in ; for after these proceedings of the archbishop and ecclesiastical commissioners in the reformation of the habits, “ * many of the reformers withdrew themselves from the national church and the religious communion of the rest of Christians, and set up separate assemblies, where, casting aside wholly the book appointed for the public and common service of God, they served according to their ways and platforms of their own, and used prayer and preaching, and administering of the sacrament by themselves. The reason of their withdrawing was, because the ceremonies of Antichrist were, as they said, tied to the service of God, and so they told Grindal bishop of London.

“ This was a most unhappy event of this controversy, whereby people of the same country, of the same religion, and of the same judgments too, concerning the errors of Popery and the

* Strype's Parker, p. 241.

evangelical doctrine, parted communion, and went aside into secret houses and chambers to serve God by themselves, which separation begat estrangements between neighbours, Christians, and Protestants.”*

In 1564, being the Queen’s almoner and bishop of Rochester, he attended her majesty at Cambridge† (who was accompanied by Sir Wm. Cecil, chancellor thereof when she visited that university)‡ following the lords in their degrees, and walking bareheaded in the procession with the bishop of Ely.

In 1571, on the death of Jewel, he was nominated to succeed § him in the see of Salisbury, being then doctor of divinity, his congé d’élire being dated 5th December. He was elected in the chapter the 15th, and had the royal assent and his temporalities restored to him the 25th of the same month, || says the Annotator of Godwin, p. 355.

But Le Neve, Fasti, p. 260, ¶ says the royal assent was granted the 22nd, and received his spiritualities and temporalities 24th December. However, he was not confirmed by the archbishop till March following, at Lambeth, being the commendatory of the archdeacon of Can-

* Strype’s Parker, p. 241.

† Cole, MSS. Brit. Museum.

‡ Nichols’s Progresses of Eliz. vol i. p. 105; Peck’s Desid. Cur. vol. ii. p. 21.

§ Cole, MSS. vol. xiv. p. 65, &c.; vol. i. p. 156; Strype’s Parker, p. 332.

|| Godwin, De Pres. p. 359; Cole, MSS. vol. xiv. p. 65, &c.

¶ Cole, MSS. vol. xiv. p. 65; vol. i. p. 156, &c.

terbury ; and the Annotator of Godwin, in loco estado, says he was translated to Sarum in March 1571 ; “ or I (Cole) understood him wrong, for there seems some confusion in his account. At his confirmation, as the archdeaconry of Canterbury was then vacant (who by his office was to induct the new bishops into possession of their bishoprics) he was inducted by the archbishop himself by his proctors.”*

He sat only five years at Salisbury, dying the last day of February, 1576, in his grand climacteric year of 63. He made his will, † but the same day he died, ‡ which was proved April 10th, 1577.

Godwin, De Pres. p. 355, says he died 28th Feb. 1578. His will is as follows : “ In the name of God Amen the eight and twentieth day of February in *the nineteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth* by the Grace of God Queen of England France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. I Edmund Geste Bishop of Sar. being sick in body but of good and perfect mind and remembrance God be therefore thanked Do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. First and above all things I most heartily give bequeath and commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator and only Redeemer in whose merits

* Le Neve, Pre. Bps. p. 20 ; Strype's Parker, p. 332.

† Cole, MSS. vol. xiv. p. 56, &c. ; vol. i. p. 156.

‡ Extracted from the registry of Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

and mercy standeth all my trust and full hope of Salvation and my body to be buried at the appointment and discretion of my Executors undernoiated within the Cathedral Church of Sar. with my Funeral and Burying I will and require to be made and solemnized according to the Estate of my degree and calling. Item I will that all my servants shall be cloathed in Black every Man according to his degree and Estate. Item I give and bequeath to the poor people of the City of New Sar. twenty pounds. Item I will that after my death my Household and House shall be kept for and by the space of one month unto the finding and providing whereof I give and bequeath the sum of Forty pounds to be bestowed over and besides such store and provision as is already made and provided for the same. Item I give and bequeath to my dear Friends my Ld High Treasurer of England, my Ld Keeper of the Great Seal and to the Mr. Comptroller of the Queens Maties. Household either of them one Gold Ring of the value of forty shillings a piece in token and remembrance of my duty and goodwill. Item I give and bequeath to the Library of the Cathedral Church of Sar. now decayed all my Books there to be kept for perpetual remembrance and token of my favor and good will to advance and further the Estate and Dignity of the same my Church and See, desiring and trusting that the Dean and Chapter of the same Church will so ordain

and dispose all those my said Books to places and Stalls as may be fit for the preservation and good keeping of the same and this on the behalf of God, I require them to do as my trust is in them therein. Item I will and bequeath to Thomas Draples thirteen pounds six shillings eightpence. Item I will and require my Executors undernamed to have consideration at their discretions to give and bestow upon all my Chaplins in Household and others that have been my Chaplins in Kent some special token of my good will to be a remembrance unto them. Item I will and bequeath the remnant and residue of all my Goods, my Debts Legacies and Funeral accordingly discharged to my Servants in Household attendant upon me to be divided amongst them all, and by discretion of my Executors And I make and ordain Giles Estcourt Esqre. and Thomas Powell Gent. my Executors of this my last Will and Testament and I give and bequeath to the said Giles Estcourt in consideration of his pains taken One hundred Marks. And whereas I am indebted to Thomas Powell my other executor in the sum of twenty-nine pounds for seven years and one quarter's wages I will that the said sum of Twenty nine pounds in consideration aforesaid shall be One hundred Marks. Item I will and bequeath to my brother Chrofer Leedes the sum of Forty or Fifty pounds at the discretion of my Executors. In Witness whereof we have subscribed our names

Johem Securis, Hughe Powell, Thos. Dilworth, Willia. Hayte and Thos. Thackham."

"*Probatum fuit Testament hmoi coram Magro Willimo Durie legum Doctore apud London 10° Aprilis 1577. Juramento Magri Edwardi Orwell Not. Publ. procuris Egidii Estcourte Executor et cui Commissa fuit Administraco. de bene etc Jurat. Thom Powell alter Executor in personâ dci Edwardi Powell renunciarij.*"

He was buried in the choir of his cathedral church, on the north side of his predecessor, Bishop Wyvil, who lies in the midst of the choir between Geste and Jewel.* From the ascent of the choir to the album were formerly three marble gravestones of three bishops, which gravestones were (in 1684, when the choir was new paved with new blue and white chequered marble, at the charges of the Rev. John Tounson, son of Robert Tounson, formerly bishop of this cathedral) removed out of the choir into the north-east transept which is now divided from the north aisle by a wooden partition, erected at the time Mr. Wyatt made the alterations in the cathedral, and is now made use of as a chapel for divine worship, and other parochial purposes. The three gravestones so removed are now there. That of Bishop Geste is a square stone of purbeck marble, about ten feet in length, and four feet in width. Upon this

* Tanner, Bib. Br. p. 315; Cole, MSS. 1576, 28 Feb. obt. Edmundus Sarum Epus, sepultus est in medio Chori ex parte Septentrionali. Reg. Grindal.

stone is fixed a plate of brass, on which is the following monumental inscription:

Edmundus Veste sacrae Theologiae Professor Cantabrigiensis Episcopus Roffensis
Munere laudabiliter summi Eleemosinarii Regum nummorum liberaliter annos plusquam

Duodecim perfunctus est, postea vero quam a serenissima Regina Elizabetha

Translatus quinquennium huic Episcopatus Sarum ad Dei gloriam honorifice

Ad Ecclesie edificationem fructuose, ad suam commendationem egregie praeiussit

Magno suo commodo et maiore luctu suorum, vitam laudibilem cum meliore morte
Commutabit Bonorum qui habuit (neque nullaneque nimia) magnam partem cognatis et amicis,

maiores pauperibus, maximam famulis domesticis legabit

Et ingentem optimorum librorum vim quantam hix una capere Bibliotheca

Potest, perpetuo studiosiorum usui in hac Ecclesia conserbandam destinabit; Huic

Ignitur ornatissimo et doctissimo et Seni et Praesuli ultimo die

Februarii Anno Dni.* 1578 etatis vero suae 63 pie defuncto Egidius Estcourte Armiger, alter

Illius testamenti Executor hoc Monumentum ad tanti viri memoriam retinendam

Ad suam in illum obsevantiam testificandam posuit.

Over the above is a portraiture of a bishop in his robes, lawn sleeves and scarfe, a cap on his head, a pastor's staff in his right hand before him, and in his left hand a book—four coats of arms, viz. one at each corner of the stone; his hair short, a beard short also, and mustachios on his lips. All now in perfect preservation, except the plates of the coats at the corners.

In the same transept or chapel, near the west side of the font, are three small stones, also of

* The above date was perhaps intended to apply to the year in which the monument was erected by Giles Estcourt, the executor. The words will bear that construction. If to the year of the bishop's death, it is decidedly erroneous.

His will was proved and now extant in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury,* and which was made on the day he died, is dated 28th Feb. 1576, and was proved by Giles Estcourt, the executor, on the 10th April following, viz. 1577. This is confirmed by the best authorities:—Wood, *Ath. Ox.* vol. i. p. 700; Harwood's *Alum. Eton.* 1536. 28. H. 8.; Allen's *Skeleton.* The will is the best evidence, and is decisive.

Godwin (who says he died 28th Feb. 1578) appears to have been led into the mistake, probably, from this erroneous date upon the monument, and the other compilers and annotators have followed him in the error. It is very remarkable that within a few lines of this entry, there is another entry by Godwin himself, which corrects this very error. In p. 355, Godwin's *Catala.* title 'Salisbury, No. 39,' he states that "Bishop Gheast died 28 Feb. 1578;" and in No. 40, under John Piers, Godwin himself says, "he (John Piers) succeeded Bishop Gheast in Salisbury in the year 1577." If Gheast did not die before 1578, Piers could not be his successor in 1577. But this was the fact, and is so confirmed by numerous historians, particularly Wood, in the reference above cited, vol. i. p. 700. There can be no question, therefore, but the true year of his death was 1576, and not 1578.

* Cole, MS. vol. i. p. 156.

purbeck marble, about eighteen inches square, on which are the following inscriptions :—

Edmundus Gheast. Sarum Episcopus ob. 1578.	JOH: JEWEL Episcopus Sarum ob: 1571.	ROB: WYVIL Sarum Episcopus ob. 1375.
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And on the western wall of the said transept or chapel is also placed a small black marble tablet enched in white, on which is this inscription :—

“The three marble gravestones of Jo. Jewel, Robert Wyvil and Edmund Ghest, bishops of Sarum, were removed out of the quire, upon paving the quire with white marble, at the charges of the Rev. John Tounson, son of Robert Tounson, formerly bishop of this cathedral. An. Dom. 1684.”

There is also a square excavation in the large gravestone of Bishop Geste, immediately under the brass plate, about a foot in length, and five inches in width, which appears to have contained a plate, but which is now absent.

He was a very considerable benefactor to the church of Salisbury, in bequeathing his whole and large library, as mentioned in his epitaph and his will. His immediate predecessor, Jewel, before his death, had built a most beautiful library, which Geste well furnished at his

death with his books. On the said library the following inscription was formerly fixed, but at present it is not there :

“ Hæc Bibliotheca extracta est sumptibus R. P. ac DD. Joannis Jewelli quondam Sarum Episcopi; instructa vero libris a R. in Christo D. D. Edmundo Gheastolim — ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo—Quorum Memoriam in benedictione erit. A. D. 1578.”*

His arms are preserved by Archbishop Parker, in his *Antiq. Brit.* p. 37, and Cole's MSS. † — Azure, a chevron between three swans' heads erased at the neck. Those of the Bishop of Sarum are thus blazoned:—Our Lady with her babe in one arm, and her sceptre in *her left, encircled with the Garter, ‡ of which Order he was Chancellor.*

It has been truly observed by Hume, the writer of the *History of England*, that the reign of Elizabeth, in which Bishop Geste lived, was remarkable for the wisdom of its statesmen and the bravery of its warriors; and he gives to the Queen her due praise of merit for her judgment in their selection; and he might with equal truth and propriety have praised her for the same discernment of selection, in *the purity and piety of her prelates.*

The justice of this observation we have seen verified by the foregoing narrative, in the person of many others, as well as of that great,

* Godwin, 355.

† Vide also *Heralds' Coll.*

‡ Cole, MSS. vol. i. p. 156, and vol. xiv. p. 5. Vide ante in notes, p. 43.

good, and very learned man to whom it more particularly relates; and therefore it may not be extraneous to our present object to call back our attention to the leading features of that character which it is our intention to commemorate.

In forming an accurate judgment of the character of individuals, we naturally look to the vices and the virtues, the qualities of mind and body, both natural and acquired, which they possess, and the manner in which their possessors have applied them.

In general, but more particularly where the individual is eccentric, or where his demeanor is at different periods of his life at variance with its usual tenor, and the general principles of his actions, his character is best described by the history of his life; but where no such peculiarities prevail, the character may be faithfully delineated by more general comprehension.

In some characters, the vices, in others the virtues, are predominant; but where a man employs the talents with which he has been entrusted by his Creator to accomplish the object of his being, and effects that object in the best manner that the powers allotted to him will admit, he answers the end for which he was sent into the world, and contributes his part to the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures, and will receive, as his reward, the approbation of heaven, and the good opinion of mankind.

We are supplied with the best evidence (that of a cotemporary historian of acute discernments and unquestionable veracity) that Bishop Geste, from his very youth to the period of his maturer age, applied all the energies of his mind, united with habits of the most assiduous industry, in acquiring from the purest sources the best means for the promotion of religious truth ; and for his complete success in those pursuits, the living monuments of his life and actions unite with the testimony of subsequent historians to confirm.

They speak in unerring terms to the extent of his acquired knowledge, classical, moral, scholastic, and theological ; the purity of his motives, the solidity of his judgment, and the clearness of his understanding.

Time has indeed obliterated any claim to which he may have been entitled to circumstantial and adventitious fame ; his name, therefore, will be estimated in the present age by the usefulness of his life and actions to ourselves, and to those who have gone before us ; and it must pass through futurity protected only by the inherent excellence of his works and actions, the only vestiges he has left behind him of the duties he had to perform, and the manner in which he has performed them.

In the disposition of his temporal goods (which we learn from his executor, and which is confirmed by the limited extent of his means, were neither nulla, neque nimia) we see the most convincing traits of the kind and

liberal master, the patron of piety and merit, the promoter of literature, the charitable and benevolent benefactor, and the attached friend; frugal without avarice, liberal without extravagance, humble but not pusillanimous, dignified without ostentation, without ambition, without arrogance.

The rewards of his services by the state were at first more honorary than profitable; Almoner of the Queen, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Bishop of Rochester, the lowest except one in value of all the sees, vacant at the time of his preferment. And as no slight proof of his indifference to the emoluments of office, as well as his contentedness with his station for twelve years in the see of Rochester, we do not find him in possession of the see of Durham, the most lucrative bishopric then vacant, although the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord High Treasurer* (his patroness, the Queen, being unwilling to part with him,) were most zealous for his promotion to it.

In encountering the danger to which he was exposed, and his patient resignation in awaiting the results of those trials which the difficulties of his station, the danger of the times, and the nature of his professional duties had thrown upon him, we see a courage and a firmness of purpose, such as the importance of his mission required, and such as an entire

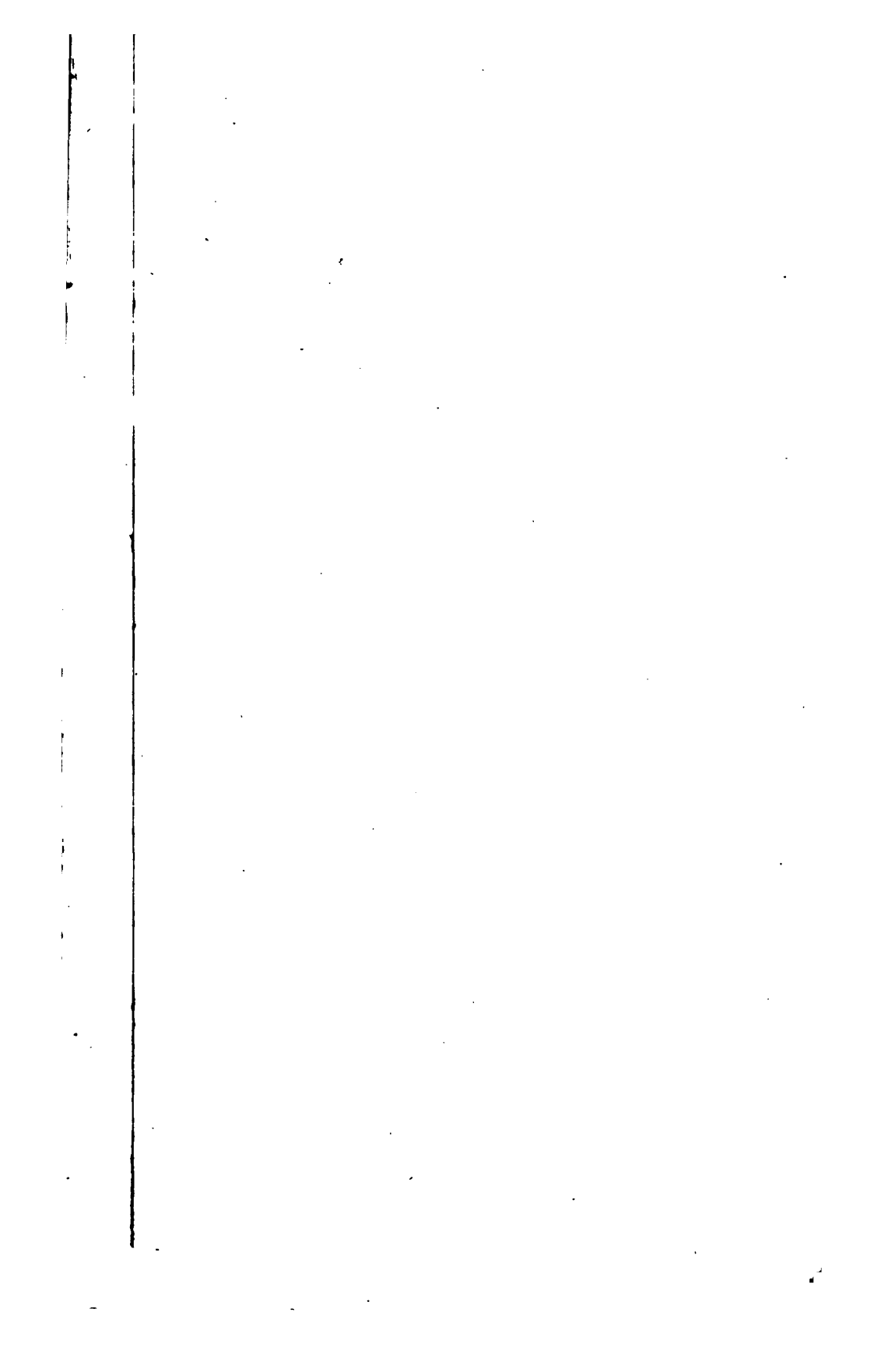
* Cole, MSS. vol. i. p. 156; Fuller, and vide Parker's Letter to Cecil; Burnet, vol. iii. p. 301.

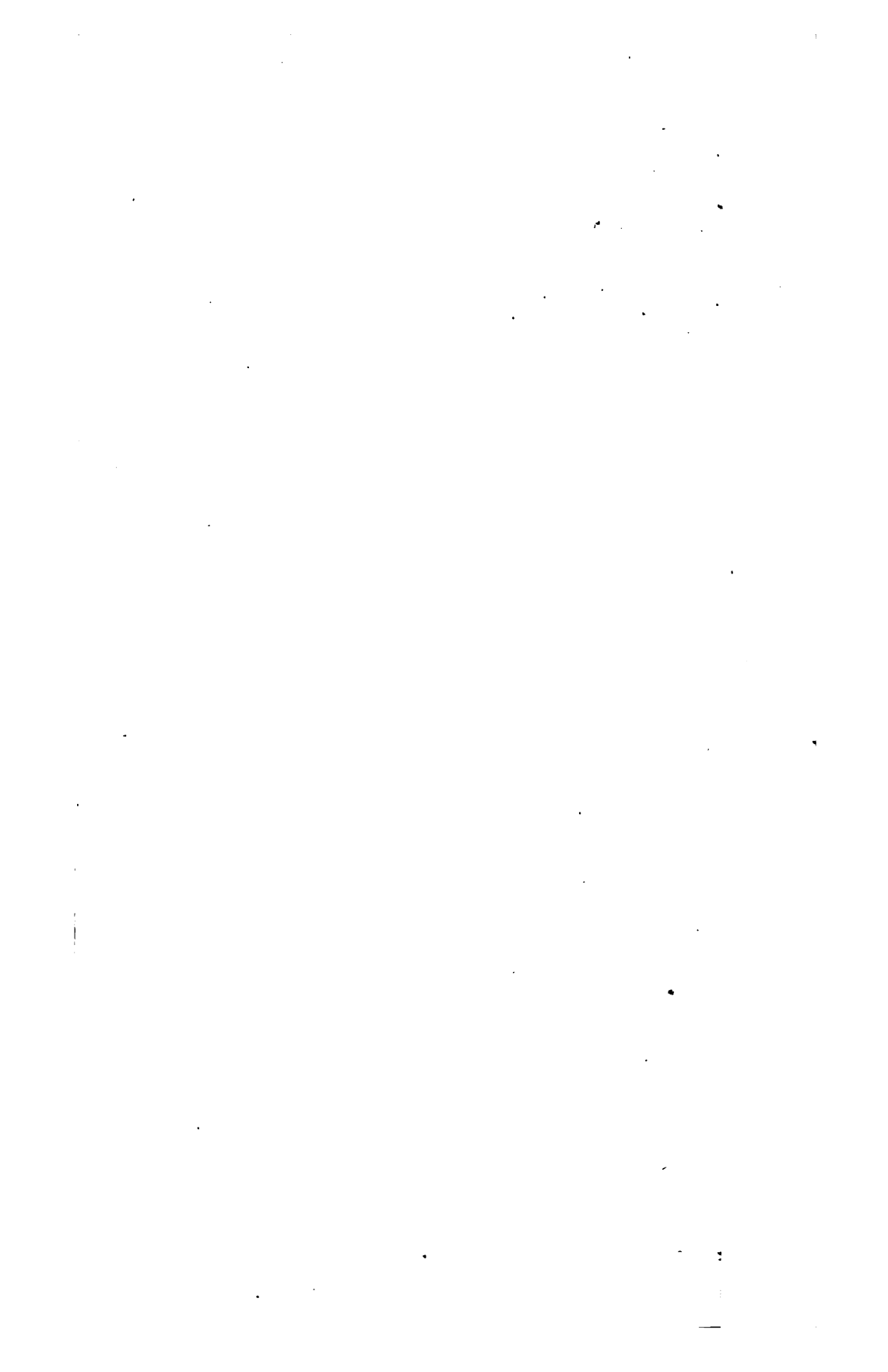
trust in God, and the feelings of conscious rectitude could alone inspire. He did not follow the steps of Grindal and Jewel, by quitting the field of danger, and voluntarily banishing himself to a foreign land, but remained intrepidly in his native country, braving the storm ; and merely adopting such precautionary means for the safety of his person, and the preservation of his life, as prudence and the urgency of impending peril might from time to time occasionally require.

Purity of motive, vigor of action, devotedness to his calling, ardor in his patriotism, unshaken fidelity to his religion, and incessant perseverance in his efforts to promote the glory of God and the benefit of his fellow-creatures, were the distinguishing characteristics of his life ; and he summoned to their support all the assistance that deep and extensive learning, clear and acute intellect, sound judgment, and unwearied industry, could supply.

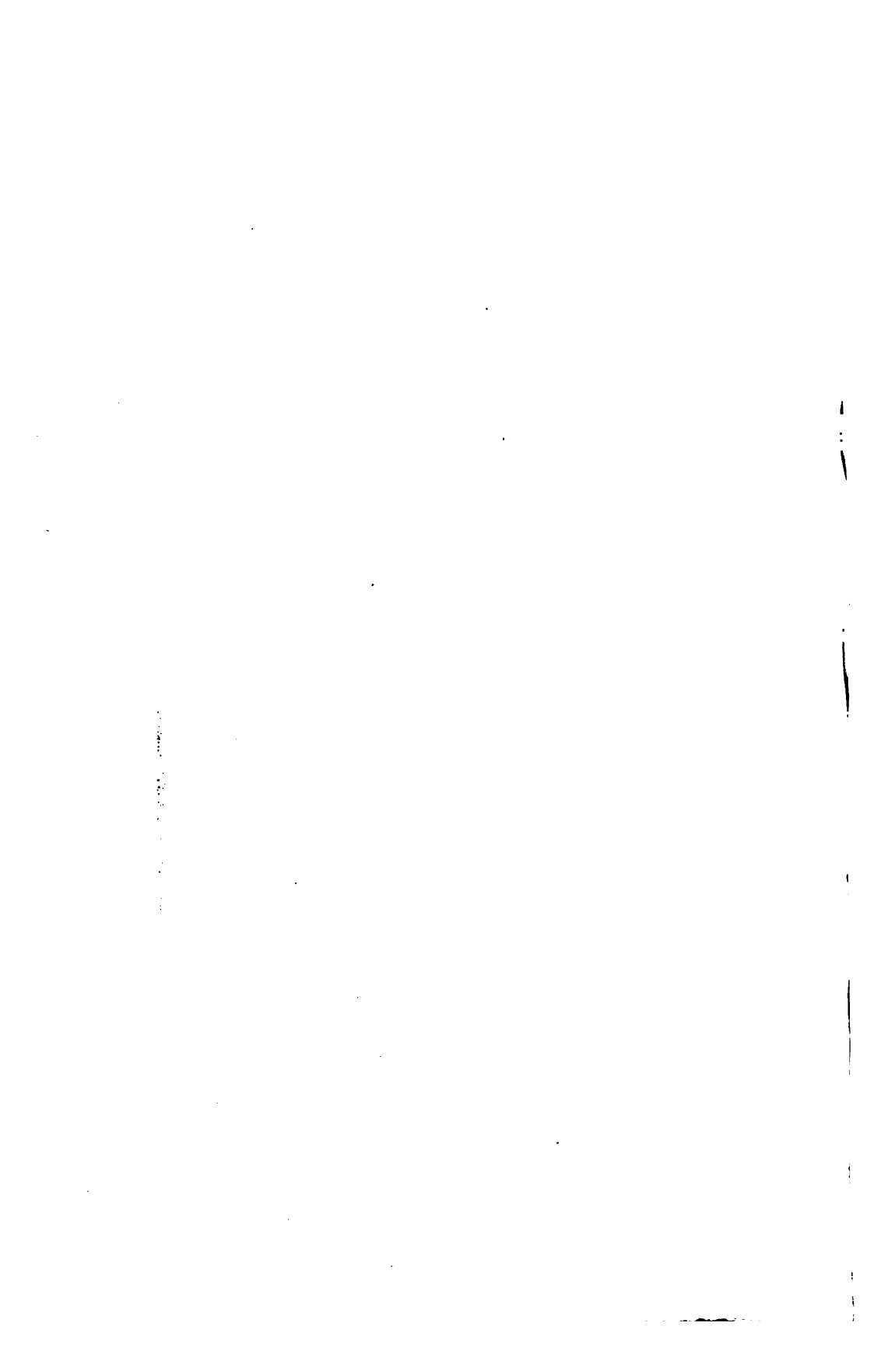
In the general tenor of his life he was mild and gentle ;—and, in complete possession of a strong and energetic mind, in the unimpaired vigor of his bodily faculties, and in earnest commendation of his soul into the hands of Almighty God, his Creator and only Redeemer, in whose merits and mercy standeth all his trust and full hope of salvation, he closed a long and useful life in the grand climacteric sixty-third year of his age. He finished his course, and, having fought the good fight, he kept the

faith, thenceforth is reserved for him a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give him at that day; and not only to him, but (upon the testimony of the great Apostle to the Gentiles) to all those also that love his appearing.





APPENDIX.



APPENDIX I.

A TREATISE AGAINSTE THE PREVIE MASSE IN THE BEHALFE AND FURTHERAUNCE OF THE MOOSTE HOLYE COMMUNYON MADE BY EDMUND GEST.

Reade gentyll reader and then judge.

M D XLVIII

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Imprinted at London

in Saynt Andrewes paryshe, in the Waredrop, by
THOMAS RAYNALD.

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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MAISTRE CHEKE,

*Scolemaister to the Kynges Majestie,
and Prouost of his worthy College in Cambridge,
Edmund Gest wyssheth enteir health
both of Body and Soule.*

NOT wythstandyng (right worshipfull) I have attempted an enterpryce in prouyng eche parcel of the pryuy masse to dysplease God, whiche I can neyther word, matier, ne reason accordynglye, and so am rather dyslyked then lyked of mauye for this my doyng, rather heady then heedye as they suppose: Howebeit in case the sayd persons woll wythe me earnestly respect my bounden deuty in the sayd doyng, they (I doubte not) woll be rathere contented then discontented with me for the same. For why it is Godes oppen wyll that not they alone, whom he hath mercifully delyuered ten or fyve talents unto, but they also, who haue freelye re-Matt. ceaned at hys mercye handes, but one talent, should occupy the same, to hys most avauntage and not enwrappe it (to his great hinderance) in a napkyn. Lesse he wold therefore withdraw it from theim and delyver it to the well occupyers either of the fyve or ten talents heretofore especyfyed. (a clear ensample wherof is for our learning recorded in Math. xxv.) By reson wherof albeit I am but slenderly knowledged in Scripture matters in respect of others whose knowledge is ten or fyve talents to myne one and so am not hable to avale and gane therwith any thing so much as they with thers, who ar passingly skylled in the mattiers before said: This not withstanding I must occupy my talent and avantage so much therby unto ye Lord, as I can possyble, to the full discharge of my bounden dew herin

Luke 16. otherwise straitely charged withal. for we must all become accomptable to ye dreadful lord for our receipt

Mat. 14. and stewardship, whoso saith Christe, is not faithful in a lytle is not trusty in moch. We must al be busely

Deut. 16. occupied tyl he come eche man in his call accordingly. No man must attempt to appear before him withoute hys offre, more or less, according to his hableness herein,

Luke 21. which he estemeth, and not ye value and bygnes of the offredge. Though the sely poore wydowe offred but two mytes into ye lorde's cheast, yet was she no lesse regarded of hym therfor, then the great rych men, who offred into the same much more. Eche man (sayeth Hierome) offreth unto the lordes house what he can, some golde sylver, and precyous stone, some eyther goteskinnes or the heares of the same, for ye Lord nedeth all these and he is egally pleased with them, who have unegally offrede. In respecte wherof I have offred unto hym this my symple poor myte or goate heare trusting he wol of hys mercye both accept ye same and occasion hereby others to wryte more groundely and clerly in thys matteir, whych I have chosen rather then an otheyr too entreate upon, in respecte ye treathe therof is both right avaylable and nedefull to hys church, and so avantageable to him selve, in yt in enforceth much to ye discontinuance and owerthrowe of ye pryvat masse, wherin we are most piteously blinded to ye great dysworshipe bothe of our Savyour and hys most holy communyon. This myne attempt (which as ye se, not of pride but of mere conscience I am enforced to) not wythstandynge I have offred to the lorde. Houbeit I ensuinge ye prayse worthy usage of offerers herein doo offre ye same to some other beside, namely to your worshipful mastership, not yt I adjudge it a present worthy your worship, but yt I wold hereby open my poore harte toward your maystershypp, trustyng ye of your wonted unspeakeable gentlenes wol take it in good parte, not respectynge so muche the vyleness therof, as the good mynde of the presenter of ye same, who (un-

doubtedly) hath presented not all what he willyngly wolde, but what hym hably could theyrin. And thus I betake ye to God whom I most enteirly beseech to environ you with hys grace so to tread ye kynges Maieste in all vertue wisdom and understandynge, as shal be, fyrste to the hygh contentacion of God selve and furtherance of hys trueth, secondly to the kinges honour and weale of hys realmes lastlye too youre great worshyppe, name and furtheraunce. Amen.

*To the Christian reader everlastynge gretynge
in the Lorde.*

WOLDE God (dear reader) soch a person had attempted and attempted had perfected and perfected had openly publyshed ye worthy disclose and disprove of the unsufferable abhominacion of the popyshe private pryvye masse, an enterpryse no lesse nedeful than avayleable at al seasons, and for all personnes, and namely at thys present, whyche is, thanke be unto the lord God, so favourable and benefyciall to the fortherance of the Gospell truth, and so prejudicial and hurtfull to the hinderance of the same, who for hys worthy knowledge perfectly knew, worthely and conninglye for hys hartie zeale wolde earnestlye, for hys boldeness durst openly, and for his eloquence wold eloquently, and accordingly handel, and discover the sayd ungodlynnes and workemanly paynt the same before thyne eyes. For why as it is ryghte convenable and behoveable that as eche ungodlye and exchueable vice, so the hertofore mencioned ydolatrie, or ymage worshyppe must of force be knowen, and sensyblie dysclosed, not onely for that it is a doying both haynouse and wycked, but by reason it is also pretensed and cloked wyth the pretence and usurped name of the Evangelicall truthe, and recompted in maner of eche man, (thee more pytye) for the worthiest vertue, and for a worshyp not to man alone but to God also,

mooste serviceable and acceptable. To murder a gyltlesse persone, is a defaulte full grevouse, and thyselfe besyde, moch more grevouse, but not thyselfe alone, and an other but a greate compaignye of innocentes wythall, that is mooste grevouse of al. What sayd I, mooste grevouse? Noo, not so: for thee sayde murder compared wythe the slaughter of one poore seely soule, is in respecte thereof; nothyng grevouse at all, by reason as one soule surmounteth and passeth in worthines an infynite number of bodies so the slaughter of one soule is more grevouse than the murder of unnumerable sorte of bodies; howbeit the murder of sondrie soules is more grevouse than of one, and so consequently the slaughter of an infinite sorte is passinge grevouse in respect wherof, oh what grevouse cruel dede is our solytary and alone massinge, whych doeth murder not the bodies alone (a wycked and a cruel dede) but (which is most grevouse and wycked of al) the soules also, not for a tyme but for ever: not to be without pleasure and grevance, but to be in endeles wofulnes, not of certayn of the worshippers and maintainers therupon, but of eche one wythout restraynt, unlesse he in tyme become repentant, whether he be a pryve masser or a pryvate masse helper, whether he bee an hartie hearer or proctour of the sayd masse, so that in effecte he be a solytarye masse worshipper, for as S. Paule avoucheth not evyll workers alone, but theyr approvers and maynteyners for that they be lyke mynded, shal be lyke punyshed. Yf the eatyng of an apple in paradyse dyd worthely and meritoriouslye slaye as questionles it dyd not bodely only but ghostely also, not Adam alone but his wyfe also, and not them alone but al they and posterite, and that not for a tyme, but everlastinglye for yt it was directlye agaynst the expresse commandemente of God, otherwyse beyng nothing derogatorye to God or prejudiciall to man; certaynlye then oure alone massyng, for so moch as it is not onelye a breache of goddes open and holye commaundemente, as the eatyng of thee inhibited forbydden apple was, but

Roma. 1.

an open ymage worshyp also, and a forged made service of God which is a default, no lesse haynouse than the sayd breache yea and more too, doeth moche more murder, as wel ghostely as bodely, not onelye the doers and keepers of the pryvate masse, but thee upholders also, and worshyppers there upon onlesse they hartelye, and that in thys presente lyfe repent themselves for the same. For a double fault, deserveth a double death a double dampnatyon as well of thee agreers and favourers therof, as of the authors and doers of the same. Is it not a wicked doyinge to endamage an innocente bodye, and is it not a mysdede moche more wycked to murder the same? Yes verely, than remedyles here upon gatherable, it is oure alone massing is a wyckednes uncomparable, by reason therein Christe's bodye whyche passynglye surmounteth all bodelye creatures, bothe in worthynes dignitie, and in acceptance wythe Godde is assayde daye by daye of thee alone massers, to be mortefyed and done to death. In consideration wherof, good Christian reader, I beseeche thee by the precyouse deathe of oure alone Saviour Jesus Christ embrace lowe and frequent onelye the most sacred communion Christes owne ordynaunce the true masse, the true sacrament exhibitiv of Christes body and blood, the verye ghostely narryture and foode both of oure bodyes and soules, into life everlastinge, and utterly eschue avoyde and deteste the pryvate masse, thee usurped and false named communion, or masse, the pretensed and counterfayte sacrament, mans ordynaunce and tradycyon, the presente poyson both of our bodies and soules, into death not temporal alone but eternal also. What is sacriledge that unsyttyng haynouse and abhominable vyce, but an embecillmente and stelthe of an holy thing out of an holy place, which is adjudged the more unleyful haynouse and abhominable in respect of thee more holye thyng embecilled, and stollen out of the more holy place wherupon it formally argueth oure pryvate massing is a sacriledge moost unsytting, haynouse and detestable. For as moch

as it is a stelth of holye thinges, not of the basest sute as candelstickes sencers, crosses and chalices be, but of the holiest and chiefeste kynde namely of Christe, of the holy ghost, of true relygyon of fayth, of godlynea, reposed and placed not in a stony temple or aulter but in a Christian and faithful hart which is justly esteemed more precieuse and holy than a thousand stone tempels or aulters whych after thee report of Paul is the temple of the holy ghoste and the mansyon place of the blessed trynitie, as Christe hym selfe wytnesseth in Johan. The more precieuse marriage ye more haynouse default is the breach therof. What marriage is in worthynes to be compared wyth the spirituall marryage that is between Christe and us? Verely none at all, by reason wherof our alone massinge muste remedillesse be a moost haynouse trespase; for that it dissevereth the sayd marriage and enforseth us to whore with false goddes agaynst Christ the lyvinge God oure spirituall husbände. Oh Lorde what an unspeakeable and uncomparable vyce is thee pryvee masse, in case she dyd but murder mens soules and bodies she were to wicked, but sythe she attempteth thee slaughter of the blessed bodye of Christ, sythe she embecilleth and taketh out of our hartes Christ the holy ghost, and theyr body and soule saving frutes, sithe she sondereth and divorseth the marriage betwene Christ and us, she must no remedy be uncomparably and unspeakeably wycked. Is it not a lamentable syght, to behold how hyghly men esteeme this pryvate masse whych mothereth so manyfolde and haynouse vyces? Is it not great pytye to see how she is suffered and frequented amongeste us? Is it not a deadely remorse to respect the worthy clerkes in this realme, and ye greate number of them and yet not one to wryte agaynste hyr? Who yf they wold, could handle and utter hyr accordingly? Yeas truli. Wel, sythe they (who perfectly can) wyl not wryte agaynst the sayd masse, sythe it is nedefull, that her synfulnes to longe dyssembled, shoulde be openly uttered, sythe I am en-

1 Cor. 16.

Joh. 14.

forced in conscience in thys greate unseasonable sylence among ye greate dyvines in this behalfe, to declare my stomacke agayn here, I wil by goddes grace undertake to wryte agaynst the hertofores mencioned masse, notwithstanding I am nothing fyt or suffycient to the ful perfourmaunce of so greate an enterpryse occasyoned so to do, through this the sayinge of Christ yf my dysciples Luke 19. wyl hold theyr peace the stones shal speake wherby he doeth us to wyt yf it is hys wyl and providence that whan the learned refuse to sette forth hys trathe, the unlearned shulde further and promote it. Better it is somewhat to wryte and enveyghe agaynst the popyshe masse, and that grosly than not so godly nothing at al. Better it is that the rude ignorant people shuld by my talke perceave somewhat of the sinfulness of the sayd masse, than through my sylence nothyng at all. Better it is that the sayd people shuld be somewhat wythdrawen from theyr receaved masse errour than that they shuld wholly after they accustomed wonte endure in thee same. In respect wherof that what I can possible devise to the utterance and reprove of the faultes incident to thee pryvate masse even now by Gods assistance do I wryte. Wherfore good reader gyve heedye attendaunce therto.

Pryve masse after the doctryne of the Popishe boke entituled, Antididagma is facyoned of fowre partes namelye of thee sacryfyce of Christes bodye and bloude, of the receypt of the communion, of prayer, and of doctryne. These partes orderly wyl I declare and conferre them wyth Goddes wrytten worde, upon the conference and tryall whereof it shall (I doubt not) appeare ful true that eche parcel of the pryvate masse is ungodlye, and so consequently the masse selfe, exceedynge ungodlye. The fyrste parte of the sayd masse is thee sacryfyce wherunto be incydente alwaye consecration, transubstanciation and the worshippe of Christes body and bloude. And by reason consecracyon forgoeth transubstanciation, and transubstanciation the sacryfyce, and the worshippe.

aftergoeth them all. I wyll fyrste talke upon consecracyon and then orderly upon the remnaunte. Consecracyon is that percel of the masse, wherein thes priest presumeth to consecrat and hallow Christes body and bloude. The whyche as it is an attempte too unreasonable and unable so passyng wycked presumptuous and detestable; for howe can it possible be that Christes bodye which cannot be made holier and perfecter than already it is, shuld or myght be consecrat of the priest. Thys muste nedes be that that is hallowed was before his consecration eyther throughly prophane and nothing holy at al, eyther else not so holy, in consyderacyon wherof, whiles the prest do presume to consecrate christes body, nedes must they acknowledge and graunt by that theyr enterpryse not so godly as presumptuous that the sayd body was before the consecration, eyther nothyng holy at al, else not so holy, which graunt as it is extonyouse and unbeleueable so ungodly and exchuable. In case the prestes presumed only by theyr consecration to hallowe christes body, that theyr consecration were not so haynouse a dede, but for asmoche as therby they contend not so learnedly as stoutly not so truly as falsely. Christes body to be forged and made of the chosen bread, and therefore endeuour themselues thereby, to forge the body of ye purposed bread, it is exceding haynouse, for ther is no creature so worthy puissant and entier, as ye said body is, whyche thyng could not be true, yf ye priest or any man else dyd or coulde make the same. For the ofte making of any thing as of christes body, is an undeceyueable proufe of the unperfytenes, unworthines, and feblenes of ye same. Ther is no man, be he neuer so moch priested or byshopped yt can make the feblest basest and unperfytest creature in thys worlde, moche lesse christes body the perfytest and noblest creature, ther is no creature, be it neuer so imperfyte that is ofte made, howe than can christes bodye be ofte made, that is the most perfyte. These wordes take, eat, in these wordes of ye institution of the lordes

supper, take, eate thys is my bodye, be no wordes of makinge of the lordes body, but of presenting and exhibiting the same to the receauers of the ryghte supper of the lord. So that it is full open that the prieste can nether consecrate Christes body, neyther make it. Howbeit this is alwaye grauntable, ye minister both consecrateth and maketh, though not Christes body and bloud, yet thallotted bread and wyne ye sacramentes exhibitiv of the same. For where as ye bread and wyne used at the lordes supper were prophane and unholy, before the wordes of the institution of the sayd supper were duely reported upon them. Nowe after thee due reporte, and utteraunce of thee sayde wordes by thee mynister, upon the before named bread and wine, they be consecrate and made of prophane the holy sacramentes exhibitives, of Christes body and bloud. Thus also meant the fathers by these wordes, consecration and making in this sacramente. Nowe to transubstantiation, or tornekynde, thee next entreatable matter, whyche is no lesse disallowable, then disceauceable. How can thys stande wyth our sayth that Christes body (whose creatyon is unrenuable) shulde be again made of the bread a (uyle creature) throughe thexchaunge of the nature therof into hys. Howe were it true yt the blessed wyne, and broken bread were bred and wyne, as Paul termeth them, yf theyr natures were throughlye altered into Christes body and bloud: Can they be bread and wyne styl, without they reteygne theyr natures styll: Can they be rightly named bread and wyne wythout theyr own proper mater and substaunce in respect, whereof they were so named: doo they not styll appere to our senses, bread and wine, notwithstanding, they ar become ye sacramentes exhibitives of Christes body and bloud: who ever sawe the exchange of any substance without the alteration of hys accendentes and outward shape; when christ tourned marueylously water into wyne, it had not only ye nature of wyne, but the external forme also, tast colour and facion of wyne, and no

semblance of water at al. Aarons rodde beyng altered into an adder, had not only ye substance therof, but also ye outward fassion of ye same and no similitude of a rodde at al. The water wich Moyses chaunged into bloude, as it was in nature bloud, so outwardly it semed bloud. Even so questionles shuld ye bread and wyne leave ye outward shape wyth theyr inwarde substaunce, yf they were altered into Christes bodye and bloud, by reason, wherof, sythe they reteygne styl theyr accidentes, nedes must they also reteigne theyr wonted substance, can ther be any sacrament as S. Augustyne sayth, without therin ye due element and fyt word of God belonginge ther unto, be joyntlye coupled together: No verely. How than? Can the outward apperaunce of bread and wyne without theyr inward substance be ye sacramentes of Christes body and bloud for ye outward apperaunce of bread and wyne be none elementes, but only the external shewes of the same. Elementes be substance and not accidental shewes. Is it not true, that in thee consecrate bread ther are wormes both engendered and fosterd whych could not be, yf ther endured the bread lyke natured after as it was before ye consecracion, for eche worme is a substance, and none accydent, therefore cannot be engendered or fedde of an accydente but of a substaunce alone, in respect wherof, sythe the wormes brede and fede, not in Christes bodye, but in thee consecrate bread, we must remedyles acknowledge in the same bread too contynue thee verye proper substaunce therof, The bread and wyne be sacramentes of Christes body and bloude ordeyned of him purposely to enstruete oure senses outwardelye, what is wrought inwardly by ye sayd bodye and bloud in the soule, for theyr use is too declare too our outward senses assuredly yt as the receaved bread and wyne norishe, strengthen and glad our bodyes, so Christes body eaten and hys bloud dronken accordyngly do oure soules. Howe coulede the bread and wyne serve to hys purpose, yf they were utterly divoided of theyr accustomed nature? Verely no

maner wyse. for why? it is the alone substaunce of bread and wyne, and not ye colour taste facyon of the same, that fostereth and cherysheth the body. Sacramentes (sayth Augustyn) unlesse they have certayne lykelyhode wyth the thynges wherof they be signes, they be no Sacramentes at al. What semblance I beseche you is ther betwyxte the natureles bread and wyne, and christes body and bloud? questionles none at all. For the sayde body and bloude, and that after papyshe doctryne be not presented and exhibited at the communion accidentally but substancially only. In respect wherof nedes must we grant eyther the consecrate bread and wyne be not the Sacramente of Christes body and bloud, whiche we ought not to do, eyther else thee sayd bread and wine reteygne styl theyr owne natures, whyche is grantable. I marvel me muche that many of them, who stand in ye defence of Christes corporal presence at his supper, have in earnest meynテナunce transubstanciation, for as me semethe it doeth mock what hinder and prejudice, the sayd presence of Christ in ye sayd hys supper, by reason the broken bread and blessed wyne be institute purposely to resolve and ascertyn our senses that we as materially and truly thoughte not grosselyer sensyblie but ghostly receave and eate Christes body and drinke his bloud as we do the foresayd. In consideration wherof yf we take eate and drinke, but thee accidentes of thee foresayde bread and wine and not the very substaunces of the same, then gatherable it were Christes bodye and bloud be not truely but faynedly presented and gyven at hys supper. for why? yf the signe be counterfayt and fayned, then nedes must the thing be in semblable sorte, whyche is betokened thereby a true matter must remediles have his token also true. In respect wherof the broken bread being ye sygne geven of the sayd body, is material and not matterles, thys thensuyng saying, which Gracian exporteth and fatereth upon Austyne, de consecrat. distinc. ii, cap. qui manducat, enforceth moche to the dysprove

and dampnation of transubstanciacion. That is sene is bread, and the cup wherof the eyes also make evident profe, but that that saythe demaundeth to be instructed in is that ye bread is Christes bodye, and the cuppe hys bloud. These therefore be named sacramentes for that in them one thyng is seable and another understande, that is, sene hath bodelye fourme that is understand hath ghostly fruyt. What can be more effectually and expresselye spoken agaynste tornekynde, then thys the rehersed englyshed sentence of Augustyne Fyrst he avoucheth therein the seable matter to be bread, secondelye for an undeceavable argumente and tryall therof he alledgeth the testimonye of thee eyes, thyrddy he sayth not that is seeable is a bodelye fourme but hath a corporall fourme, leste anye man shulde here be occasyoned too adjudge the mattier to want in thys element and so to remayne nothyng else but thee outwarde and accydentall shape of breade. For in that he saythe that, that is seene hath a corporal fourme, he graunteth in thee elemente twoo thynges to bee remaynyng, thee thyng hadde and the thyng having thee outwarde faasyon which is seable and the subjects and matter therof, it is to wytt the bread substaunce and the external apperaunce of the same. The sacramente of thankesgevyng, saythe Irenee consystethe upon twoo matters of substaunces, thee one earthely, the other heavenly, yf bread substaunce were departed then could not Irenee leyfully call ye one part of the sacrament a substaunce but an earthlye accidente, The worthy counsayl of Nece wryteth to the disallowaunce of transubstantiation in sorte, thus let us not grossely beholde the bread and wyne proposed and set before our eyes but in faythe consider the lambe, yf God in that hys sacred table having our hartes elevate and uplifted, loe, here the worthy counsel nameth the feble portyon of the sacrament after the consecration bread and wyne, and not the formes of the same. Gelasius in open and expresse wordes impugneth the sayd transub-

stanciation as erronyouse and uncredyble in sorte as followeth. The sacramentes of ye body and bloud of Christ which we receave ar sureli godly matters therfore through and by them we ar made partakers of the godly nature, and yet do they not ceasse to be the substaunces of bread and wyne but continue in ye properties of theyr owne natures, wheras Justyne sayth, ye Lord doubted not to say, thys is my body, when he gave a sygne of hys body; he meanethe not that Christes body is absented from hys supper, but that the consecrate bread is not the sayd body or turned substantially into the same and is but the signe of Christes body, notwithstandinge it be named hys body, notwithstanding Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome Chrisostome wythe othera whyche expresly in theyr wrytynges the consecrate bread to represent Christes body and to be a signe therof, howbeit in those and soch other semblable theyr speaches theyr meanyng is not that the sayd bread is devoided of Christes bodely presence, and presentment, but that the consecrate bread is but thee sacramental sygne of Christes bodye and not Christes body selve, thoughhe it be termed sacramentalye the sayd bodye. Now wyll I assoyle certayne objections and gaynsayings facyoned of the Catholiques agaynst ye premysses. Yf say they ye bred nature were not tornekynded into Christes body, why dyd he name it hys bodye? Can it be hys bodye, onles it be exchaunged into it? Can I be you wythout I become your substance? No verely. No more can thee bread be Christes body wythoute the exchaunge of the matter therof unto the sayd body, As for the accidentes of thee sayd bread it is not requisite, ne nedefull that they shuld be together chaunged wythe theyr substaunce, because Christ in thys hys sayinge, this is my body, useth the artycle demonstratyve thys, not in ye masculine but in the newtre gendre whyche implyeth but the alone matter of the bread, and not accidentes of thee same therwyth, as the masculine doeth, wherby Christ doeth us tunderstand that the bread

nature is only altered and not his accidentes in lyke maner. To thys objection soche is myne answere, Christ in thys hys sayinge; this is my body doeth institute the sacrament of hys bodye and bloud, therefore he speaketh upon the same, sacramentally it is to wyt, he termeth the sygne by thee name of thee matter therby sygnified. He nameth the consecrate bread hys bodye, for yt it is resembled and presented, therby baptisme is named the founteyn of our agayn byrth and the renuinge of the holy ghost, yet is it nether our newe byrth, nether the renuying of the holi ghost ne chaunged into them, but so called for yt therby the sayd byrth and renuing be not only represented but also wraughte, presented, and contributed unto us. Circumcision was not in very dede the covenaut made unto Abraham ne altered into it, howbeit it was so termed in consyderation, it dyd bothe represent and present the same covenaut to Abraham and his posteritie; Christes breathe was called ye holy ghost not that it was the very holy ghost, or turned into him, but in respect of the sayd ghost therwyth both resembled and exhibited semblably albeit ye consecrate bread is named Christes body yet is it not the sayde body ne chaunged into the same, but so called in consyderacion therwyth the sayd body is both sygnified, presented and exhibited. The cup is termed Christes bloud and the newe testament: Yet that his so calling them notwithstanding, no man wyll depose therupon, the cup eyther to be Christes bloud or his testament: Termed notwithstanding ye sayd bloud and testament, for that it is ye sacramental mean wherwyth they be applied and conferred unto us, upon semblable consyderacion is the bread named Christes bodye. Wheras it is thought and credited the bread substance only and not hys accidentes also to be tornekynded into Christes bodye; By reason he useth in this his saying this in my body, the article thys in the newtre and not in the masculine gendre; yf this were formally argued, Then in consideration he useth the sayd article demon-

Gen. 15.

Matth. 26.

Luke 22.

stratwe thys in the masculine and not in the newtre gendre in thys hys saying, this is my bloud. The wyne were not altered at al, else altogethers into Christes bloud both outwardly and inwardly as wel concerning his accidentes as substance. So yt then ther shulde remayne no outward shape of wyne at al (whyche is false both by experience and by the doctryne of the maynteners of tornekynd) els is ther (whyche is ryght certayn), nothing altered in the sayde bread, concerning either ye inward or outward forme therof. Whereupon gatherable it is, the hertofore mencyoned subtyltie concerning Christes usage of the newtre gendre, in the ordinance of the sacramental bred is nothing effectual. Some of our catholiques do contend yt the sayd tornekinding must be nedes granted as right certayn and godly lest we commit ydolatre in worshipping of ye bred matter in stede of Christ. As though like jeopardie of ymage worshyp remayneth not styll, whyles the accidentes and outward facion of the bread endureth. For yf thys to be dreded and advoyled yt the substance of ye bred, whiche is unseable shuld be worshipped; Then moch more ye seable accidentes and external forme of ye sayd bread be to be dreded, lest we worship them, whiles we endeavour ourselves to worship Christ in or under them. For why the seen is moch more lyke to be worshipped, then ye unseen matter. And so for drede and advoidaunce of ymage worshyp ther must be withdrawn from ye hallowed bred as wel his accidentes as his substance; Else must we surcease and leave our honouring of Christe under the sayd accidentes, which is our bonden duety so to do. Yet it is replied and sayed. Paule calleth the consecrate bread and wyne, this bred, this wyne. Why shuld he so terme them? In case yt one were not turned into Christes bodye the other into hys bloud? Verely the consideration therof is to have us put a difference therby betwyxte the consecrate and unconsecrate and common breade and wyne, acknowledging the former bread and wyne to be sacra-

mentes exhibitives of Christes body and bloud, and these (I meane the common bread and wyne) to be nothing lesse then lyke condicioned. The last argument that ys alledged for tornekynd is thys, If Christes bodye be in thee bred (as undoubtedly it is) then it is enbreaded and his bloude enwyned, whych was alway taken for a great heresy, In respect wherof transubstantiation nedes muste be graunted as ryght true and belevable. To thys I answere in sorte thus, Notwithstandinge Christes body be presented in thee bred (as questionles it is) not placely as ther placed spaced and mesured, but ghostly; as ther unplaced unspaced, and not measured; Howebeit, it is not enbreaded nomore then the deytie is recompted, enfleshed for that it is substancially in us. No more then the sayd godhede is demed enbreaded, for yt it is entierly in eche bred. No more then the holy ghoste is accompted enbreathed for that he was presented in Christes breathe. No more then the sayd holy ghost is adjudged embodied or enharted, for yt he is wholly in us and in oure hartes. Christes body is adjudged of no man to be accidented notwithstanding it is presented in the accidentes of the bread. Why then shuld it be adjudged enbreaded for hys presence in ye breade. The one is as reasonable as gatherable as thother is. Some are fule deceyved in the meanyng of these wordes thimpanacion of Christes bodye, whych is not in simple any presence indeferently of ye sayd body in ye bred: No more then the incarnation or enfleshing of Christes godhead is indifferently any presence therof in mans fleshe and nature. But only soch a presence of Christes body in the bread wherwyth they both shuld be unseverably personed and have al theyr condicions and properties common and mutuall betwixt them. Soch a presence is the personal presence of Christes godheade in hys manhode. Soch is ye presence of ye soule in ye bodye. In respect wherof as Christes body is not enpersoned in us, notwithstanding it be embodied to us: Semblable though

the sayd body be presented in ye bred, howbeit it is not become one person therwith which is properly termed ye impaning or enbreeding therof. If ye bred and wyne be not exchaunged in ye communion, Some wil demand of me why ye auncient doctors make so oft report upon thalteracion of ye breade and wyne? To whom this myne answer. The consideration why ye forefathers so oft report an exchange to be wrought in the sacrament of Christes body and bloud is, for yt they beleved the chosen bread and wyne to be turned from a prophane to a godly use to become no more common, but special bread and wyne and to be made nowe exhibit-yves sacramentes of Christes body and bloud where as before theyr hallowing they were nothing so, and not yt they beleved the sayd bread and wyne to be torne-kindred into ye Lordes body and bloud. Thys is the exchange wherof ye doctours make report and none other doo they acknowledge here besyde Thus I have argued effectually both consecration and transubstantiation construed after ye catholique doctryne to be directly repugnaunt agaynst gods wrytten truth. Nowe wyll I trye whether the masse sacryfyce in semblable sort empugneth the said truth. And for so moch as this masse sacrifyce is taken here both for a satisfaction of syn and thankegevinge I wyl discusse fyrst whether it be a clensing and satisfactory sacrifice. This done, then whether it be an acceptable and serviceable thankegeving to God or no. Concerning ye clensing sacryfyce falsely given to ye masse Paul wryteth in Heb. 10. sort as followeth, With one offering hath Christ made profyghte for ever them that are sanctified. There is not one word in this Paules saying diligently and depely consydered yt enforceth not moch against the before specified sacrifice, In respect wherof, I wyl report orderly and wayghe eche word of the sayd saying severally by it selfe. Paul sayeth not wyth a manyfold or renewed but with one offering hath Christ made perfecte for ever the sanctefied, In consyderacion whereof they

bee foule depeaved who avouche Christes sacrifice ought to be revived and multiplied to the ful pardon and contentacion of our synne otherwyse unpardonable, and therfore repete the sayd sacrifice day by day to the same effect, for why that, that is oft offered cannot justly be recompted to be offered but ones, by reason a repeted and renewed sacrifice is not merely syngle and one, but manifold and diverse. If Christ had oft died notwithstanding he were the selvesame Christ, that doeth so oft dye. Howbeit yt his often dyeing shuld not be adjudged one single but sondry deaths, though it be yt self same body yt dieth by ye second deth, which died through ye former deth, Yet is ye twyse dyeng of ye body recompted not one but two

Rev. 20. dethes (as wytnesseth Johan in his Apo.), even so yf Christ were oft sacrificed though he were the same and none other Christ that is so offred. Yet were that oft sacrificyng of hym no syngle one but a manifold and multiplied sacrifice. In consideracion wherof, sythe by the one offeringe of Christe our synnes be throughly poured (as Paule recordeth,) sythe an often offer is not an ones but a manifold sacrifice, though it be of ye selve same matter; Christes bodi nether may ne ought to be agayne sacrificed either bloudely or unbloudely to ye doynge away of our defaultes. Now to ye entretable text of Paul. By one offering hath Christ, etc. By ye ones offering of Christ Paul meaneth his paynful and bloude sacrifice ones done upon the crosse for ever, else could not yt his sacrifice pource our synnes. for noo sacrifice without bloudshed clenseth syn, according to this sayinge of Paul without bloudshedding ther

Heb. 9. is no remission of syn to be atteigned. by reason wherof right oppen it is, they grevously erre, who hold opinion yt our faultes ar pardoned through theyr unsufferable and unbloudy sacrificing of Christes bodi otherwyse unperdonable. With one offering hath Christ made perfyte, etc. Note this, Paul sayth note in ye present tence, doth make perfect, as though Christ now doth

pardon our syns unpardoned before, but in the preterperfyte tence hath made perfyte; purposely to do us herby to wyt yt we ar already redemed, and clensed by ye ones offering of Christ never to be revyved eyther sufferablye or unsufferablye bloudely or unbloudely to purge our synnes withal—In consyderacion wherof our Heb. 10. catholiques be in a foule grevouse errour, for theyr avouching (enforced questionles so too saye not so moche of a good ground as of a good entent) our synnes clerely to be clensed wyth theyr unsufferable and unbloudye sacryfyce of Christ, for where remission of syn is, ther is (sayth Paul) no more a sacryfyce for the same—by one offering hath Christ made perfyght for ever the sanctified. Note this, Paule sayth not, Christ hath made perfyght for a tyme but for ever the sanctefyed, Certes yf Christe were to be agayne sacryfyced to the ful contentacion and cleansing of synne, then dyd he not through hys once offerynge perfyte for ever but for a tyme the sanctefyed, for why the sacryfyce that is remedies to be revived to the contentation and satisfaction of syn, contenteth God for the same not for ever, but for a tyme. By reason wherof oure catholikes are to be blamed, who rather earnestly then godly wil and contend that Christes body shuld be agayne sacryfyced to the satisfaction and purgyng of syn, otherwyse after theyr judgement unpardonable. An erreure no lesse derogatorye to the entiertee and fulnes of Christes ones sacrifice then prejudiciall to the Maynteyners therof, for why to renew the sayde sacryfyce is utterlye to unperfyte, and disable it quite fully to clense and do away syn, for so Paul argueth to the Hebreues, the sacryfyces of the old lawe dyd not remyt syn, for that they were daylye repeted, else not to be renewed. If thys be formallye argued of Paul (as out of question it is) then it argueth that Christ is not to be agayn offered lesse hys fyrst offering being entier and sufficiente to purge syn bethrough the repeting and revivinge therof unperfyted and dishabled to the ful contentation of syn, (an issue

- utterly wyth al possible endeavour too be exchued). Wyth one sacryfye hath Christ made perfit for ever them yt are holi made. In yt Paul avoucheth her Christ through his one sacrifice to have made perfytt for ever them yt ar sanctified, he doeth us herby tunderstand, yt the saintes ar none otherwyse redemed, and saved then through ye one offering of ye sayd Christ upon the crosse, and so consequently no man can be otherwyse saved. for they be saintes yt be saved : in respect wherof it is nothing answerable to ye truth yt ye catholiques not so godly as styfly maynteyn, it is to wyt, we be redemed throughe the agayn sacrificing of Christ otherwise unperdonable; for yf ye masse sacrifice be a contentacion and satisfaction for syn, then is ye once sacrifice of Christ utterly to be abandoned and disauthorized; for why to institute a new sacrifice
- Heb. 8. of Christe is tabrogate and adnul thold, yea yf Christ must be agayn offered to the contentacion of syn, then must he be also woefully payned and done to death
- Heb. 9. again; for (as the sayd Paul sayth, ther is no contenting sacrifice without it be bloody; in consideration wherof he argueth, yf Christ shuld be often offered, nedes must he oft suffer, ofte dye; wherfore (most gentlereder) sythe of the aforesayd it appereth ful open yt the masse mercy working offredge dyrectly gaynsayeth, not only ij or iijj but sondry scriptures and them not doubtful but playn, and not only scriptures (whyche symplie to contrary is a sinne ful grevouse); but endeavourereth itself also to mourdre Christ whych is more grevouse); and not onlye yt, but utterly to adnul and abolishe Christes most preciouise and entier sacrifice, done upon the crosse (whyche for too doo, as it is a defaulte most grevouse so most unsufferable) I beseeche thee hartely judge and esteme the sayd one sacrifice accordingly, that is to wyt to be the alone sacrifice wherwith our syns be clensed and done awaye; and thynke and depose upon the pryvate masse sacryfye as thou oughtest to do, namely to be nothyng lesse than a clensyng sacryfye.

But here wyll oure catholiques saye they doo no-
 thyng lesse then upholde the masse offeringe to do
 awaye synne, for that they acknowledge wyth us (the
 protestauntes) belongethe to Christes passion alone.
 God be prayسد therefore in oure redubted sovereigne
 lorde the Kynges Majestie, who by a worthy acte of
 parlyamente hath enforced them to the outward acknow-
 ledge therof, otherwyse openly maynteyning the con-
 trary but in case the foresayd persons meant that in-
 wardly in ye hart, whyche wyth the tongue they outward-
 ly graunt and profess; They wold not defend eche
 parcel of ye masse canon to be godly and beleveable as
 they do, for why there it is playnly sayd, the masse sacri-
 fice enforceth effectually to the redemption and ramsoning
 of the soules. The very wordes of the sayd canon be
 these Remembre Lorde thy servauntes, etc. for the whych
 we offre unto the, or the which do offre unto the, this
 sacrifice of prayse for themselves, and to thee ramson of
 theyr soules. Loe here it is open, ye priest sacrificing
 of Christe (which is here termed a prayse sacrifice) is
 purposely purposed and wrought to redeme and ramson
 soules withal which thing doth apperteigne alonelye to
 Christes sufferable and bloudy sacrifice. Wel notwith-
 standing, this thalleged sayng out of the canon were
 not playn and sufficient enough to prove the sayd canon
 testablishe the masse sacrifice to content God; Howbeit
 ther is an other yt questionles argueth the same, whych
 the priest alway reporteth and prayeth in the poost
 common, the englysshe wherof is thys. O holy Trinite
 performe that thys sacryfice whych I unworthy have
 offered unto theyes of thi Maiestie may be acceptable
 to the and be also through thy mercy propiciatory, that
 is to say mercy workinge both to me and al them for
 whom I have sacrificed it. Loe hear in manifest wordes
 ye prest solliciteth God purposely to obteyn of him, this
 his sacrifice to be propiciatory and to appease his wrath.
 In consideration wherof grantable it is yt the pryve
 massers acknowledge in very dede theyr masse sacrifice

to be mercy working whyles they contend the canon therof to be throughely true and godlye notwithstanding theyr mouth sayinge to the contrary, what an unsufferable mockedge is this as wel of God as of our soveraygne lord ye King, to acknowledge with them ye masse sacrifice to be nothing propiciatory, and yet in the canon (otherwyse named ye masse secret) to graunt it offered to redeme us wythall and to praye it myghte be propiciatory, If we hartely thoughte with God and our prince ye masse sacrifice were not propiciatorye. We wold not throughlye maynteyne the masse canon, we wold not saye therwyth we offer Christes bodye to oure redemption, we wolde not instant God as we do, to enforce our sacrificyng of Christe to purchase hys mercy. But here it is replyde the foresayde canon is misconstrued. For it meaneth no thyng lesse then that the masse sacrifice is satisfactory in very dede but in name alone. So termed in consideration it is a resemblaunce or memory of Christes propiciatorie sacrifice executed and perfyted upon the crosse ones for euer. To thys replial thus I answere In case the sayd sacrifice were not to be taken, to be satisfactory, Why is it in ye heretofore mencioned Canon avouched, We offre the sayd sacrifice to the redemption both of our soules and others, Why pray we that the sacryfye might be made satisfactorye. If we wold not it shuld be taken for satisfactorye. Yf it were not to be taken for a satisfactory sacrifice, and that after the true meanyng of them, who fathered the Canon: They wold never have so wrytten upon it, as they have done. Again yf we thought not hartely that it were soch a sacryfye: we wolde not affyrme, we sacryfye it to redeme us and others withal. We wolde not ne durste sollicite god to enforce it propiciatorye; dredying ye dredeful saying of Christ thou

Mat. 12. shalt be justified by thi wordes, and by thy wordes ye shalte be condempned. Let us hedely beware lest Christ judge us by our mouth as he dyd ye wycked ser-

Mat. 25. uaunt. For the mouthe utterance as of Godly matters

maketh to salutation, as wytnesseth Paule. So of un- Rom. 10. godlye to dampnation. Let us therefore condempne, as of bonden duetye we ryght the therefore saying of thee masse canon, which, as they plainly and directly withstand gods wrytten worde, so the Kinges statutes: lest we through our allowaunce and prayinge of the same incurre and deserue ye just wrath both of God and of our prince. Here I cannot but disclose the unsufferable subtiltie of our catheloques in this purposed matter.

Therefore good reader, earnestly respecte the same to thy aduoyance of theyr trayn. They hauing in consyderation that now lefullye they cannot: in respecte of thopen euidence of gods wrytten worde agaynst them, which to gaynsay were not sufferable. Ne dare any longer uphold theyr masse sacrifice to be mercy working. For that it emplieth notable repugnaunce to an acte of parliamente whyche not to obey and approve, as it is unfytinge, so ryght punishable: consydering also yf theyr masse canon were to be understand after hys gramer sence (as doubtles it is) it must remedeles be condempned and canceled oute of the masse boke, as heresy to god, and disobeyssaunce to the king. Wher-upon happely myghte, consequently ensue the utter decaye and confusion of the masse selue, (an issue no lesse perfourmable then resonable an ensuable): Haue at ye last qualesyed and blanchd the sayd canon in the heretofore alledged places therof after thys sorte. To offer the sacrefice of prayse for the redemption of our soules meaneth nothing else, but toffre the sayd sacryfye for a remembraunce of Christes sacryfye; ones wroughte upon thee crosse to redeme oure soules wythall. To praye that the masse sacryfye myghte bee propiciatorye is to praye it myght be a memorye of the propiciatorie sacryfye, Jesus what a far fetched meanyng of the foresayd is thys. Whyche cannot wel be ymagyned moche lesse gathered of ye same. Yf they who fathered the canon, meant the masse sacryfye were not offered purposedlye to redeme us wythat, but to record the satisfactore sacrifice; Theyr wordes

undoubtly wold rather haue enforced for ye preat sacrifice to be a memory of the satisfactory sacrifice then to be it itself. Therfor ye sayd fathers so did wryte the sayd canon as thei might easely be understood what thei understode therby. And so wrote it so openlye as they possible could deuise. By reson wherof sythe ye before mencyoned sayinges of the canon make al togethers for the priest sacryfye to be propiciatory Questionles theyr meaning is that ye sayd sacrifice appeaseth goddes yre and indignation and clenseth syn. Howesoouer our catholiques now take them. Though (saye our catholiques) the before especyfyed allegations seme targe the masse sacrifice to be satisfactory yet ar they to be construed as wee take them. And neuer were they otherwyse taken eyther of us, eyther else of others learned and catholique men. So the shamelesse vanitie of our catholiques, they do not only lye in mystakeing the canon, but in misreporting the myndes of sondrye wryters. So that the common prouerbe is veryfyed one leasyng doeth accompanye another. Is not Mayster doctour Smyth of Oxenford a great clerke and moch traded in auncient wryters (as it appereth by hys doyinges), Yet he in the hundereth and one, and twentye leaffe of hys boke entituled the defence of the sayed sacryfye of the masse wryteth, for ye sayd sacrifice to be propiciatory in sort thus. Doeth not this place proue the masse to be a sacrifice propiciatorye. Syth by the offeringe of christes body in sacrifice at it gods wrath towards this man and his servauntes conceyued for theyr synnes (wherby the deuyll had soch power on them) was pacyfied and appeased. Agayn in the next leaffe ensuing theis he wryteth. Nothyngt can be more evidently spoken for the sacrifice of ye holye masse y^t. it is a sacryfye propiciatory curing mans woundes (that is to say hys synnes) and that also by the ordinance of Christ commaunding it to be done for a remembraunce of hys death and rysynge agayne, Hetherto Mayster Smyth: Wherby it is ryght eident

that he thought the masse sacryfye to be propiciatory, and I doubte not understode the tofore named Canon as I do. Cocleus a man hyghely esteemed amongeste our catholiques partly for hys ryght iudgement in scripture matters (as they suppose) partlie for hys learynge, wryteth in hys former reply all to Bullynger in the syxt chapter therof for the pryeste sacryfye to bee propiciatorye in sorte as foloweth, We after ye accustomed maner of speaking in ye Church name not the supper but the masse a sacryfice not onlye of prayse and thankesgevyng, but of mercy working also, wherwyth we endeouere oure selves to prayse God instaunte hym and appease hym. For wee offere the masse sacryfye not for the alone pourgyng of synne, whych thou falsely doest charge us wythall, but for sondrye other skylles also and nedes, as it is evydently knowen of the holy Canon, Cocleus, woordes in Latyne be these, *Nos autem iuxta (juxta) consuetum in ecclesia loquendi modum non cœnam sed missam dicemus sacrificium non solum laudis et gratiarum actionis sed etiam propiciationis. Quo Deum laudare invocare et placare satigimus, non enim pro sola peccatorum expiatione (quod tu falso imputas nobis sed pro aliis causis et necessitatibus permultis missæ sacrificium offerimus, quemadmodum ex sacro Canone liquido cognoscitur et ex multiplici diversarum collectarum titulo verborumque contextu conspicitur.* Here it is ryghte manyfeste and playn that Cocle bothe wel learned and godly judged after ye opynyon of our catholiques doeth not only say that ye masse sacrifice is satisfactorye, but appealeth to the Canon therin as answereable ther unto after hys judgement. Freer Hofmaster (who was so worthely esteemed of the catholiques as they allotted hym to be one of the reasoners agaynst the protestantes in ye Emperours last dyet kept at Ratyspone wryteth in hys boke entyteled, *The exposytyon of the masse prayers and ceremonies in the behalfe of the masse satisfactory sacrifice in maner folowyng,* Now that our sacry-

fyce is named a prayse sacryfyce I suppose it offendeth no man, for oure adversaries acknowledge also the masse, for ye prayers laudes and thankesgeving therin accustomed to be made, maye be called a sacrifice of thankesgeving and prayse, but that we avouche it to be also a propiciatorye sacrifice thys doo they stedfastly denye and disaffyrme, Hofmaysters wordes in Latyn be these, Jam quod sacrificum nostrum appellatur sacrificum laudis nominem opinor offendit, nam et adversarii fatentur missam propter preces laudes et gratiarum actiones in ibi fieri solitas sacrificum dici posse eucharisticum, hoc est gratiarum actionis et laudis, At quod nos asserimus preter cetera etiam esse propiciatorum sacrificium hoc constanter negant. Lo here Hofmayster not only in hys own but in the person also of thee catholiques (otherwise termed papistes) as ful according wyth hym herin avoucheth contrary to our catholiques the masse bothe to be a thankesgeving and contentation and pardon for our synne. This wrote the sayd Hofmayster in his before named boke for the defence and allowance of thys sayinge of thee Canon, prò quibus tibi offerimus, etc. for ye whych we offer unto the, or ye whiche do offre to the this sacrifice of prayse for them selves and al theyrs for the ramson of theyr soules, etc. Whereby we lerne it is not ye fayth only of Hofmaister, but of ye foren Catholiques also, yt the masse sacrifice is mercy workinge and that thee wordes also of thee masse canon, yt importe ye same ought so insimple to be taken without any far fetched glosse. Whatsoever our Englishe Catholiques for a tyme do hold to ye contrary. Wel syth it is both acknowledged of our catholikes and gronedly I trust argued yt ye masse offredge is not satisfactory or ful contenting The next entretable matter is yt ye sayd sacrifice is nothing available ether for ye quick or the dead. Our catholiques contend it is profytable for them both but how moche or in what mesure it lyeth not in the powre of man to lymit, but thys theyr opynyon cannot stande with Chrystes satysfatorie sacryfyce by

reason it is a full contentacyon and satisfacyon for synne and so ye masse sacryfye awaleth nothing at al to the clensing therof. for yf it availed any thyng thereto, then were it propyciatorie aparte thoughe not entierly, then were Christes sacrifice satisfactore but apart and not wholly; then were ye masse sacryfye no lesse satysfactore then Christes, for yt it shuld make partely for ye satysfaction of sinne as Christes doth, whyche is a blasphemy to thynke moche more to speake; then were oure Catholiques deceyved in disaffyrmyng the masse sacryfye to bee propiciatorie. But what nede I to argue thee sayed sacryfye to be unfruteful, The catholiques themselves in conclusyon graunt the same, whyle they avouche the full and entier fruyte and vertu of the prest masse to consyst in the appliall of Christes merytes unto us, otherwyse utterly divoided of ye same ones merited upon the crosse in general for al men. Which is ye sacrament and not the sacrifice, for in thee sacrifice ther is nothinge applyed and rendred unto us, but to God alone, otherwyse no sacrifice at al. It is the sacrament alone and not the sacrifice that geveth to us, accordinge to the ryghte definitions of them both; In consyderation wherof saythe the masse fruyte consysteth, not in the prest sacrifice, but in the applyall and gyft of Christes body and bloud, not as sacrifice of the prest (whyche is but a countrefeiture and resemblaunce of thee true sacrifice) but as offered of Christe hym selfe upon the crosse ones for ever; it must nedes argue that the masse frute consisteth in the sacrament alone and not in ye sacrifice also; for why ye appliall and delivere of thee frutes of Christes death and agayn rysing to us, is Gods gyfte unto us and not ours unto him, so yt it is the sacrament and not the sacrifice of the masse yt is availeable; for a sacrament is defined to be an holy token, wherby God geveth us fre pardon of syns, a sacrifice contrary wise is defyned to be that wherby we render somewhat unto God; in respecte wherof oure catholiques be moche blame worthi who yelde to the masse

sacryfyce whyche is apperteyninge only to the Lorde's Supper, I meane the applyall and render of the benefygthes of Christis deth and resurrection, whych dyde as it is a grounded proufe of falshode so of ye unavailableness of ye masse as otherwise unfrutful, though (wylsom say) the masse sacrifice applyeth not ne rendreth to us Christes merytes, howbeit wythoute that they cannot possibly be presented and delivered unto us, and so ye sayd sacrifice must nor emedy be avayleable. That is not so for ye sayd merites be gyven us both in baptisme and absolution yea and in the communion to wythout the prest sacryfyce as shal hereafter be declared, and so the sayde sacryfyce in thys respect is fruytles, yet doo our catholiques repleye the foresayd sacryfyce saye they, though it maketh nothing to the appliall of Christes merites, to us warde; howbeit in that it is a thankesgeving it must nedes be avayleable; in this replial fyrst this is denyable yt the prest sacrificing of Christes body and bloud, is a thankesgeving for yt merely and nakedly respected as nothing but an offredge nothing is thanked thereby, and so no thankesgeving; in dede the prayers incident therto be a thankesgevinge, but be it the sayd sacrifice where a thankesgeving; yet it shall not orderly hereupon ensue that it were an acceptable and avayleable thankesgeving, for ther be two sortes therof, ye one good and profytable, thee other nought and unfrutefull, and yf the prest sacrifice be a thankesgeving it must nedes be both ungodlye and unfrutefull, and so of the bad sort of thanke render; by reason it is institute besyde Gods wrytten wordes and so contrarie to the same, in that it is a putting therto, for yf it were fonded upon the sayd word, it shuld be al lykelyhod be groned upon Christes word concerninge his supper, but yt it is not and so it is a forged worship and thankerendre, for Christ at his supper neyther offered hymself ne injoynd others to sacrifice him to his father Orderlye examine eche word of the institution of his supper and ye shal wel apperceave thys to be ful certayn, Christ at ye sayd supper

take brede but that is not to sacryfyce hymselfe, els he sacryfyced hym selve to hys father, so oft as he dyd eat, he gave thanks, but that is not to offere hymselfe, els Matth. 26. he sacryfyced hymself to hys father, what tyme he en- Luke 22. cressed fyve barelye loofes, and fed therwyth fyve thousand men He broke it and gave it to his disciples, but that is not to rendre it to God, whych is behoveful in eche sacryfyce, his disciples toke and eate the bread, and his body, so do ye lea men in lyke maner yet they offre them not the which is geven for you herby he meaneth not to be here sacrified, els shuld he offer hym selve oft and not ones, els wold not our prestes overhipped those wordes in theyr consecration, The disciples were enjoyned to do this in his remembraunce and so they dyd. What then? So doo all Christianes and the faythfull lealtie performe ye same, yet offer they hym not as ther is not one word touching this former part of ye Lords Supper, yt enforceth for the prieste sacrifice ; even so is ther none in thys latter, yt maketh for ye same, for yt I have spoken of ye same, is reducible and appliaunt to the latter portion of the sayde supper ; thus it appereth playn Christ nether offered hymselfe in hys supper ne commaunded others to offer hym in the same to hys father, in respect wherof Paul spoke the selve same wordes unto the unprestred Corinthians, whych Christ reported ¹ Cor. 11. to hys disciples, and bad them also perfourme all those thynges whych Christ demaunded to be perfourmed of his disciples whych thinge he wold never have done yf ye unprestred Coriu : mought not accomplished and put in execution al matters concerning the Lordes Supper Thus it is playn the masse sacrifice is not grounded upon Goddes wrytten word and so never acceptable or serviceable to God ne fruteful to man ; for why ? whoso worshippeth God wythout his speciall word for ye same worshippeth hym wythout fayth, by reason true fayth issueth onlye from Gods wrytten word as wytnesseth S. Paul, fayth cometh by hearing and ye hearinge by Gods Rom. 10. word, and who so worshippeth God without fayth syn.

- Rom. 14. neth; for as Paul saith Whatsoever thing is not of fayth is syn; so that hereby it is full open the sayd sacrifice is synful and consequently not to be frequented or used. Our Catholiques in that they acknowledge theyr priest sacrifice not to be mercy workyng suppose it so taken, may wel stande both with Goddes word and Christes honour, but in so demeng they be foule deceyved; for why, to attempt to offer Christ as it is an enterpryze toto bolde and presumptuouse, so unsufferable and blasphemouse, for thys is the state and condicion of leyfull sacrificyes before God, that they sacryficed be not merelye of themselves, but in respect of the offerers godlynnes regarded and hys synfulnes dyslyked of God; The sa-
- Gen. 4. crifices of Abel and Cain, notwythstandyng they were not moch what unlyke in them selves, how be it they were dyversly respected of God in consyderation of the soundrynes betwixt ye offerers, for thone God regarded for Abels sake, the other he hated and abhorred for Cain sake; The Lorde lokd unto Abel (sayth Moyses) and to hys offering, but to Cain and hys offeringe he lokd not, Marke thys, fyrste he lokd upon Abell ere he respected hys offeringe, fyrste he dyslyked Cain or he dyslyked hys sacryfice, whereby do we understand that the offering is lyked or dyslyked of God in respecte of ye offerer so yt here upon it grondelye arquethe that the offerer is bothe worthyer and better esteemed of God then hys offering; for that, that God regardeth merely for it selve is better and more esteemed of hym, than that whiche he regardeth but in respect of another, in consyderation wherof yf Christ were to be sacrificed of thee priest, then were the prieste bothe worthyer and better accepted before God then Christe him selve, as it is gatherable of the before sayde, by reason wherof thee priest sacryfice as it most hyghly empayrethe Christes honoure and majestie so uncomperably offendeth God the father and so moste exchueable, Wolde you further know why ye prest sacrifice is unsitting and disallowable? Then diligently note the sequeles and after sayinges,

whoso be autorised and appoynted to sacrifice, Christ body must be prestes after the order ether of Aaron or Melchisedech, but our offerers ought not to be prested after Aarons order for that his presthode is quyte repealed and done away, syth the priest hode, sayth Paul is trans- Heb. 7. lated of necessite must the law be translated also, then remediles must the foresayde sacryfycers be priested after Melchisedech order els are thei unprest. but thei cannot be prestes as Melchisedech was; by reson who so is a preste after hys order is an everlastynge prieste according to this saying of David, Thou art an ever- Ps. 110. lasting prest after ye order of Melchisedech, but we be al mortal and but for a tyme, therfore not eternall, and consequently none everlasting prestes, wherupon it formally argueth yt our usurped prestes usurpe aud take the autorite to sacrifice Christes body, whyche is graunted neyther to them ne to anye man els; by reason wherof they be blame worthy for yt theyr usurpation of soch autorytee, Let no man, sayth Paul, take honoure Heb. 5. to hym selve but he yt is called of God, as was Aaron. To procede further in ye disproue of the prest sacrifice; howe can it possible be yt our prestes could sacrific Christes bodi and bloud? without theyr due sacramentes ye sayde body and bloud nether can be presented ne sacrificed, as the prestes themselves acknowledge as most certen For ye sacrificed bred and wine nether be ne can be sacramentes of Christes body and bloud. by reason they be otherwyze used then Christe selve ordeyned thee sacramentes of ye same to be, Can the baptisme water be justly recompted a sacrament wher it is transposed to other usages then it is prepared for of Christ by hys word and ye ryght ordinaunce of ye same, namely to be gaised upon too sprinkle and washe men with al, to christen belles to washe our clothes withal: No truely: Can the circumcision or of pane which the Jewes and turkes now use, be rightly demed a sacramente. No verely. Certes no more can the sacrificed bread and wine be justly accompted sacramentes of ye lordes body

and bloud. But heere our catholiques replye sayinge the wordes of consecration be reported upon the bred and wyne ere they be sacryficed. In consyderation wherof, nedes must they be sacramentes. Thys ther replial is nothinge formall ne forceable and they by theyr own doctryne. Be it that a layman reported the consecration wordes on the bread and wyne or the prest uttered them not purposing ye making of Christes body and bloud. The sayd bread and wyne were after our prestes doctrine nothing lesse then geving sacramentes of ye above named body and bloud not withstanding the report of the consecration wordes over them. So that it standeth wythe catholique doctryne yt in symple the bare report and naked utterance of the consecration wordes enforce not the sacrament. So that the foresayd replial is nothing effectual being neyther true ne catholique: Now to ye before mencioned sacrificed bred agayn, I put ye case, ther were soch a devout priest who were so devoutly disposed as he wolde eate none other breade and drinke none other drinke at meales but sacramentally consecrate bread and wyne and wold in consideracion hereof for eche hys dyner and supper purposely report daye by day at hys masse, the consecration wordes over hys bread and wyne that he wold use at ye sayde meales: I suppose no man be he never so catholique and old fashioned wyl depose ye sayd bred and wyne to be geving sacramentes of christes body and bloude notwithstanding the report of ye consecration wordes over them. And verely the consecration hereof is the dyrecte and oppen abuse agaynst the ryght institution and usage of ye sacramentes of thee sayde body and bloud. No more be the sacryficed bred and wyne sacramentes of christes body and bloud notwithstanding ye rehersal of the consecration wordes over them. For why christe instituted at hys supper his body not to be sacrificed but eten. In respecte wherof he saythe not take sacrifice, this is my bodi: but take eate thys eate my body. Ther be thre matters ryght, nedeful and behoveful to the na-

tural beyng of a sacrament, the due element the due word ye especial commaundement of God directed therto, wher any of the aforesayd want, there can be no sacraments; by reason wherof the sacrificed bread and wyne can be no sacramentes, notwithstanding they be the due elementes consecrate wyth due wordes. In consyderation ther wanteth Gods special commaundement so to autoryse us and able us to sacrifice them aa to take them and eate them; so that they be but pure elementes and no sacramentes; therefore Christes body & bloud cannot possibly be sacryficed in and by them; wherby it appereth evident, yt prest sacrificing is of nothing lesse then of Christes body and bloud. Thus (good rede) I have argued (I suppose forceably) the priest sacrifice to be nether propiciatore ne availeable, nether godly ne approveable but sinful and unsufferable. Therefore I beseech ye utterly renounce it and detest it embracing and using in the stede therof the most holy Communion but happely thou art loothe so to do tyl I have soyled the reassens fetched out of scrypture, whych colourably seme to ratefy the sayd sacryfyce, by reason wherof I wyl addresse me to the ful answere and resolution of the same; Wheras it is argued Christe in respecte he is pristed after Melchisedech ordre offred him selve bodely under the fourme of bread and wyne, for yt Melchisedech offered bread and wyne. This reason holdeth not because it is false that Melchisedech sacrificed bred and wyne, for Moses sayth not Melchisedech offered but brought forth bread and wyne. To bring forth is not to offer, He sayeth not he brought forth bread and wyne for a sacrifice but wythout any mention of sacrifice at al. He saith not he brought forth the sayd bread and wyne to God but to Abraham as it is right gatherable of ye historie to whom to do sacrifice were an ymage service, and therefore Melchisedech sacrificed not bread and wyne. Here it is objected, yf Moses meaned not yt Melchisedech offered bread and wyne; why adjoned he immediately thereto this? he beyng the prest of the most

hyghest God blessed hym? Mary not because he sacrificed the bred and wyne but for yt he blessed Abraham, doynge us hereby to wete, as Melchisedech declared hym selve to bee a kinge in employing upon Abraham bred and wyne; so in blessing hym to be a prest, for as the employing of bread and wyne, was a kingly function, so the blessing a priestly offyce: in consyderation wherof the foresayd Moses thus wryteth, And Melchisedech the Kyng of Salem brought forth breade and wyne and
 Gen. 13. he was a prieste of the moost hyghest God and blessed hym; the meanyng wherof is thys (as me semeth) because Melchysedech was kyng he played the kyng he employed upon Abraham hyghe chere because he was a priest also he played the priest he blessed hym; in that he was a king he chered Abraham, in that he was a prieste, he blessed hym; but here some wyl saye Abraham was alreadye greatly enriched with kyngly spoyles and hadde no nede of Melchisedech's chere, therfore by al lykely hod he profered hym not the bread and wyne; to thys I answere notwithstandynge Abraham neded not Melchysedech cheringe, yet he chered hym in fulle proufe of hys hospytalyte and humanitie toward both hym and his, thus both Chrisostome and Josephus thynke; but be it Melchysedech offered breade and wyne and in so doynge fygured Christ, shall it folowe there upon, that Christ offered hym selve bodelye in fourmes of breade and wyne? Noo verelye. Was not Aaron a fygure of Christe, dyd he not fygure and resemble hym selve in sacryfycyng of a gote? Yeas certaynly—yet noo man wyll or oughte to gather, bycause Aaron who was a fygurer of Christ sacrificed a gote, therefore Christ offered him selve corporally in or under thee shape and kynd of a gote, if the before mencyoned doying of Melchisedech were applied to Christe after this sort folowing, I could not but acknowledge the application therof both sufferable and godly. As Melchisedech the King of Salem profered bread and wine to Abraham and hys sodiers not for them to sacrifice but to eat to their relief

and blessed the sayde Abraham and in him al his posterite; righte so Christ our kynge, the Kynge of spiritual peace and rightuosiōnes, presenteth at his supper to al us his communers bothe bread and wyne (sacramentes exhibitives of hys body and bloud) not to be offered but thone to be eaten and thother to be dronken to oure comfort and blesseth us al, and in us al oure ofspring. The next alledged reason for ye masse sacrifice is this deduced oute i and xi of ye prophet Malachie, I have no wyl to you sayth the Lord of hostes and I wyl not receave of youre hande a sacrifice, for from the rysing of the sonne unto the gowing down my name is great emong the people. Lo her (say our Catholiques) ye prophet prophesieth of the utter refusall and repeale of the Jewishe sacrifice and of the succession chose and acceptaunce of a new, whyche is to be understanden of the masse alone. This ther understandinge is nothing answerable to the prophetes meaning; for why he speketh only of soch sacrifice which is offered in al places of al men and from the morninge to nighte. The masse sacrifice is not sacrificed in eche place but in ye church alone, not from the morninge to night, but from the morninge to noontyde, not of eche man indifferently, but of the prieste alone. The alledged reason out of thee eyght and twelve of Daniel enforceth nothing to the prest sacrifice for daniel as it appereth playne in the nynthe chapter entreateth of the abolishment of the Jewyshe dayly sacrifice, whych is discontinued for certeyn yeres through the tyran Antiochus. This sacrifice was offered twyse on the day in the mornyng and at nyght. The masse sacrifice is sacrificed but ones on the day, and that in the mornyng, thother was offered but in the temple of Hierusalem, this is sacrificed in eche church. Yea the moost learned catholiques cannot endure thee foresayde Prophecy shulde be so taken as it concerneth thee quyte abolishment of theyr Masse sacryfice. For that they beleve that as Christes church is everlastable so theyr sayde sacrifice

alwayes endurable. It is expressly wrytten, in xiii of thee Actes of the Apostles (say our catholiques) that they sacrificed to the Lorde. Therefore by al semblaunce they sacrificed his body and bloud. What a misfashioned argumentation is this. The apostles sacryficed to the Lord, ergo they sacryficed hys body and bloud. Could they sacryfice nothing but the sayd body and bloud. Mought they not preache, pray, gather almousse for the nedy and mynestre the Lordes supper. Be they not al severably servicable and acceptable sacryfices. Bee not also the ful executours of the same justly named sacryficers Yeas verely. Then it is nothing ensuable, because thee apostles sacrificed, they sacrificed Christes bodye and bloud. And Luke saythe not they sacryficed Christes body and bloud, but in simple they sacrificed. Therefore this saying of Luke they sacrificed importeth necessarelye no sacryfice of Christes body and bloud, but rather of ye beforesayde. That here Erasmus nameth sacrificinge ye old translators termeth ministering. Chrisostome taketh it for preacheinge, so dothe Erasmus also. The greke word saye ye Parisians betokeneth to execute and minister a publique office, and it is here taken to preache gods gospel. Thus the Parisians in theyr annotacions upon the new testament. Thus it is evident the before alledged argumentation is both wrong framed and disproved both of Chrisostome Erasmus and Parisians and hede maynteyners of the masse sacrifice.

Another reason that the catholiques alledge for the mayntenaunce of theyr sacrifice is thys. The thyng figured must agree wythe hys figure. Christe was figured by the pascal lambe, therfore as the sayd lambe
 Exod. 12. was first offered ere it was eaten: Even so Christe (the true lambe) was offered ere it was eaten, at this maundy. To this I answeare after this sorte. It is ryght certayne that ye matter figured and the figure both do and must accorde in some poynte otherwyse then can be neyther figure ne thing figured. In consyderation wherof the

pascal lambe (for ye sygneth Christe) it muste and dothe resemble hym in some what and so it doth. For as the pascal lambe was slayne and offered, so was Christe. As the pascall lambe (slayne and offered) was a meane whereby the Israelites were delivered from theyr slavery of Pharao. so Christe mourdered broken and offered was the meane wherwyth we be fredomed frome ye thraldome of our spyrtual Pharao ye devyll. As ye pascal lambe was not onely offered but eaten also; so Christe was both eaten and sacryficed. etc. But that ye thinge fygured shuld be thoroughly ordered as hys fygure in all pointes it is neyther nedeful ne possyble. Els shuld christ have bene offered but of others alone and not of hym selfe also. In concideracion ye pascall lambe was so Els shuld he have bene rosted ere he was eaten, because ye pascal lambe was not eaten rawe but rosted. Els his bones shulde have been brent, for that ye sayd lambes were, Els his bloud shuld have bene springled in ye Jewes houses as ye lambes was. Els he shuld not have bene eaten whole and unbroken unsufferably but by pece-mele and sufferably as the lambe was. Wherefore ryght as Christe is fygured truely by the pascal lambe notwithstanding his foresayd disagreement therwyth: Even so thoughe Christe is fyrst eaten and then sacrificed yet that is none hinderance why the sayd Christe shulde be fygured by the pascal lambe. Now to ye next reason that is adjudged to enforce for the masse sacrifice. Ye cannot drinke of the Lordes cup and the devils to. Ye cannot be partakers of the lordes table and the devils also. Here S Paul compareth the ¹ Cor. 10. partaking of the lordes supper with the communion of the meates offred to the devyls, whych thinge certaynly he wold never have done vneles he demed christes body and bloud fyrste to be sacryficed ere thone is eaten thother dronken as the meates dedicate to devyls be. For els that hys comparison were nothing semblable ne formal. To thys is myne answer. Paules sayd comparison betwixt ye said body and bloud, and the

meates and drinkes consecrate to devils consisteth only in mutual receipt and comunyng of them and noo thing at al in the sacrificing of the same: Therefore he mencyonethe only ye partaking and not theyr offredge also. I mervel me moch what our catholiques meane to avouche thee before mencyoned comparyson not to be formall withoute it implied the offredge also both of the sayd meates and drinkes. May not two things be justly compared together and that but in one symple matter. Doo they not know that eche comparison halteth and in some matters discordeth. Yf they wyl have ye heretofore named comparison so thoroughly answerable and sembleable in all condicions: Then it is to be argued after thys posycyon, and decree that when so ever christes body is eaten, hys bloud dronken and that accordinglye, yet they staine and embrue us in consyderatyon the ymage meat and drinke eaten and dronken so do. Then do they alway dysplease god, for that ye meates and drinkes offered to ydols so do Then they be grossely sensyibly and sufferably eaten and dronken for that the meates and drinkes offered to Idols be after that sort both eaten and dronken. Al thees inconvenienses be no lesse gatherable of the foresayd comparison then that Christes bodye and bloude ought to be sacryficed. In consideration the ydol meate and drinke be offered. Is it not in expresse wordes in Paul. v. to ye Hebrewes (saye our catholiques) that eche Byshop or priest taken out of the nombre of men is ordeined for men in those thinges that do apperteign to god that he shuld offre gyftes and sacrifices for synne whereby it is full open that oure priestes do offere a sacryfice for oure synnes. What can that bee but Christes body and bloud. Fayn wold oure catholiques have theyr masse sacryfice to be authorysed and founded upon gods wrytten worde, but it wolde not be. I beseeche the what enforceth ye alledged text of Paul to the manteyning of prestes sacrifice. Verely nothing at al. For why it talketh only of the Aronical ordre of priesthode, at it

doth well appere by this the after sayinge of Paul. let no man take unto hym honoure (he meaneth the foresayde priestehode) wythoute he bee called of God theretoo as Aaron was, and compareth thee office of thee sayde priestehode with chrystes as it is ryghte evident by thys thee nexte after speache whych begynneth in sorte thus. Even so lyke wyse Chryste etc. And he speaking but of the leviticall priesthode oughte in no wyse too be understande of oure presthode, according to the generall rule. Eche man sayinge must be taken after the entended and entreated matter. Well though ye foresayd allegation of Paul were to be construed of oure Christian priesthode and of oure christian priestes. Howbeit, it oughte so too be taken that it implieth no more one christian then another no more ye spiritual then the leamen notwithstanding some be ecclesiastical ministers (whyche other be not) according to this saying of peter ¹ Peter 2 ye be, a kingly presthode, but beyt ther be certayn allotted and chosen to a special sort of presthode, whych the remnaunte of christians be not allotted to. Let shuld the here to fore alledged scripture argue nothing for them. By reason it entreateth of soch prestes who ar wanted to offre not one gyft, but many and divers, not one sacrifice but sondre, and then to the ful contentation of syn, oure made priestes offre but one gyfte, yf they offer that but one sacryfyce and not divers, and that not to the satisfaction and purging of synne but for a thankesgeving, as our catholiques themselve now at the last acknowledge. Yet thee sayd Catholiques now replye for ther said sacrifice in sort thus : Christ sayd to his apostels (as Luke xxii maketh hereof report) Thys do for my remembraunce, which thys his saying autoryseth them to sacrifice christis body and bloud as he himselfe had then done at his supper. This theyr replication is nothing effectual or true, Was not S Paul an apostle not of ye basest but hyghe sort ; howbeit he dyd not understand the sayd sayinge of christ after that sort. For he spoke the very selve same to ye unprest Corin-

1. Cor. 11. thians, and that not of his owne hede, but by the motion of the lord. I have (sayth he) receyved of the lord. Which I have delivered you, wherby it doth wel appeare that it is not onely Paules, but the lordes also and consequently al his apostles mynde, that thys hys sayinge do thys in my remembraunce, is spoken as wel to the unprest as to the prested christians. By reason whereof yf thone be through the sayd speche autorysed to sacryfyce christis body the other is in lyke maner. If the one be not, the other sorte cannot be. In respect wherof our Catholiques acknowledging the unprest not to be authorised through the sayd speach autorysed to sacrifice christes body, thother is in lyke maner. If thone be not thother sorte cane not bee. In respecte whereof oure Catholiques acknoledgyne the unprested not to bee autorysed through the above alledged scripture to offre Christes bodye and bloud : muste no remedye graunte the prested not to be lycenced by ye sayd scripture to sacrifice ye same. Thys partecle thys in thys chrystes sayenge thys dooe in my remembraunce as it is a pronowne relatyve so demonstratyve, therefore reporteth declareth and respecteth hys antecedent whych was not to sacryfyce his body wherof he forspoke never word ne did anye thing concerning ye same but onely ye thankful receipt and eating of his body and drynkyng of hys bloude, ther purposeli mencioned. Which ymplye no maner sacrificing of ye same at al. This is graunted of all men as well of the catholiques as ye protestantes as a trueth most undoubted, that ye laye and unpriested man receaveth the communion unworthely, what tyme soever he take it not recording therwyth the precyous death of the lorde. But howe could the sayd man receive ye sayde communion unworthely for his receypte therof wythout myndefulnes of christes passion and death, yf for to so take it, were not a punishable defaulte : For why the unworthenes herein issueth from synne alone. But how were it synne yf it were not directly repugnaunte agaynst Goddes oppen

commaundemente. For there is noo synne which is
 not a breach therof. But what commaundemente is
 there for the lay men to remember christes deathe at
 theyr receypte of his supper, yf thys do in my remem-
 braunce be not it, yf it touche them not: Certaynly
 none. By reason wherof nedes must we recognise and
 acknowledge eyther that the unprest persons receyve
 not unworthely the sayd sacramente when they take it
 in forgetfulness and sylence of Christes passion, whiche
 is nothing grauntable, eyther els that this saying of
 christ, this do in my remembraunce concerneth and
 chargeth ye sayd persons as wel as the prestes whych is
 ryght certeyn. In consideration wherof, this do in my
 remembraunce purporteth not to sacrifice christ in hys
 remembraunce but to recorde and declare openly hys
 death (as Paul sayth) who exponeth the sayd saying,
 in thys wyse. As oft as ye eate thys bread and drinke 1 Cor. 11.
 thys cup, ye shall show the death of the lorde tyl he come.
 Yet are not oure Catholiques contented but further they
 procede in theyr replial: We have an aulter wherof they
 may not eate whych serve thee tabernacle: Here saye
 they Paule meanethe thus. They who kepe the cere-
 monyes of Moyses lawe have none authoritie to eat
 of christes bread hys very body consecrated and offered
 in sacryfye on the aulter which we christen men have
 set up in our temples. If Paul had not meanted this he
 wold have made noo mention of an aulter whych is made
 for sacrifice to be offered ther upon to Ged, See (good
 reader) how foule deceyved be the herfore named per-
 sons. Is it not ryght evydent that Paul speaketh of an
 eateable aulter; We have an aultare (saythe he) wherof Heb. 13.
 they maye not eate and not of the masse stone aulter
 whych is not eatable. If ye sayd aultare were to be
 taken for a stone aulter Then were they who trusted
 in the ceremonial lawe in better case then we Christians
 be for that they moughte not, wee must eat ye sayd
 aulter. Then shuld Christes body and bloud thone
 have bene eaten thother dronking in Paules tyme at

- the aultare and not at the table. Then wold Paul have
- 1 Cor. 10. termed the eatynge place of thee lordes supper not the lordes table but the lordes aultare, Then wold not the
- Acts 2. Apostles have gone from house to house to mynister the communion, for that there was none aultare. Then do oure mynistres trespase who exhibite and mynistre the sayd communion to the dyeng men at home, were wantethe an aultare. Christe is onely the eatable aultare heretofore especified, whom bothe we must and do eate into lyfe everlastynge otherwyse spyrytuallie dead for ever, as we maye learne the same in Jhon. vi The which christ is named an aultar, for that upon him alone we laye and powre our spiritual sacrifices namely our prayers and broken hartes, otherwise not acceptable to
- 1 Peter 2. God ye father according to this saying of Peter. Offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God for Jesu christ sake.
- Heb. 13. By christe sayth Paule we offer ye sacrifice of prayse alway to god, that is to wete the fruytes of those lippes which confesse his name. Thys is the laste argumentacion of them that be deduced and fetched out of the scripture which seemeth any thing forceable for the prest sacrifice. As touching thys place of Matthew v, When thou offerest a gyft at ye aultar etc, Not wythstanding it mencioneth expresli both an aultar and an offredge. Howbeit for so moch as it was then uttered when the ceremoniall lawe of Moyses stode in hys mounted effecte and force whych commaunded them both to be used, and spoken also to them who were then obliged and bounden to obey the sayd law. For that then the new testament was not ful institute and ratified. It enforceth no thyng at al for lyke offring and aultare to be frequented and used emong us christians. By reason the heretofore named law is through the ordinaunce and establyshment of ye new testament
- Heb. 8. utterly abandoned and repeled. In that sayth Paule he saythe a new Testamente he hath abrogate the old.
- 1 Cor. 10. As touchig thys saying of Paule. And they which wayte at the autar ar partakers of the aultar, it im-

porteth nothing at al in ye behalfe of masse sacrifice, wherof there is no mention made. It is but the fourmer parte of a symylitude fetched out of the ceremouial law of Moyses and meaneth thys. As in Moyses law, whoso served the aultare (as thee Levytes dyd) lyved therby: Ryght so (now in the new Testament) who so preacheth the gospell shal have hys lyving through ye preachment therof. For Paule in his the alledged texte and others incidente hereto, endeavoureth hym selve to argue a lyvelyhode to be deiū and payable to the gospel, preachers of theyr auditours for ther evangelical preachment. Consyder (dere reder) wel the entier and full sayinge of Paule and you shal easely perceave he meaneth thus. Do ye not (sayth he) understande how that they whych minister in the temple have theyr syndynge of the temple. And they which wayte at the aultar ar partakers of the aultar. Even so, also (note the application of the fourme two symylitudes) dyd the lord ordeyn that they whych preache the gospell shulde lyve of ye gospel. Yf the former part of ye sayd symylitude were so to be taken that it shuld meane that now ther be certen ministers who shuld serve ye aultare, it is to wete shuld masse it, then the gospel preachers shuld not masse it at al. For that by Paules doctryne to serve the aultare and to preache be soundrye and severable offices and ministeryes, which thyng accordeth not with our catholique doctrine which teacheth that the gospell preachers must masse it also. But wat meane I to be so moche in the foylyng of these two last recited scryptures, whych yf they had bene any thyng effectual for the proufe of the prieste sacryfye, as the before alledged seme. Mayster doctour Smythe wold have pleased them wyth in hys boke made for the defence of the sayd sacryfye, as he hathe doone thee remnaunte, and not in the margente therof. Thus have I at full both declared and argued that Christes bodye and bloud ought not to be sacryficed of the Massers in theyr masse, eyther to clense our synne, eyther els to thanke and serve god

wythall, and that the reasons which the catholiques deduce out of the scripture to the mayntenaunce therof enforce nothyng for the same. But saye our catholyques the auncient and holy Doctours as Austeyne Chrysostome and others expressly avouche the Lordes bodye and bloud to be offered of the ministers, whych thyng they wold never have affirmed oneles they were offered so in verye dede, and that accordyng too Gods worde. In dede it is fulle certayne that the sayd Doctours avouche both thee LORDE'S bodye and hys bloude to bee sacrificed but not after oure Catholiques meaninge. For why they understand by the sacryfye of christes body and bloud done by the minister only the resemblance and memorye of the true and bloudy sacryfye of the sayd body and bloude which is the communion and not any real and true sacrifice of the same executed by the priest as the catholiques mistake them. We often use to saye (sayth Austen to bonifaceus) when easter approacheth nyghe, that to morow or the next daye is the lordes passion and yet it is many yeres syth he suffered and ye passion was never but ones. And upon ye sonday, we saye this daye he dyd agayn ryse, howbeit, it is many yeres sence he rose: Now is there no man so folishe to reprove us as lyers, for so saying, because we name those dayes after the similitude of those, in whyche these matters were done, so that is called the same daye which is not the very same day but by course of tyme lyke it. And it is sayde to be done thee same daye through meane of the celebration of the sacrament whyche is not done the same daye, but longe tofore. Was not christ ones sacrificed in hym selve and yet in the sacrament is sacrificed for the people not onelye eche ester holy day, but eche day. And he lieth not who being demaunded answereth he is offered. For yf the sacramentes have not some semblaunce of the matters wher of they be sacramentes, they were noo sacramentes at all. Of this semblaunce oft they take the names of the thynges by them synnyfyed. Lo there it dothe full wel appere that by

Austeynes mynde the sacramente of christes body and bloud is so named the sacryfye of them both as ester-day is named the day of the lordes resurrection and good frydaye his passyon daye. But the sayd dayes be not termede and yt the lord in very dede agayne ryseth in thone and resuffreth in thother, but by reason his passyon in thone hys resurrectyon in thother is represented and signified. Therfore the communion is called ye sacrifice of ye lordes body and bloud not that they be sacrificed verely i ye same, but in consideracion theyr sacrifice is both recorded and resembled in ye sayde communion or sacramente. The celebrating of the communion saythe Ekius in the tenth chap. of hys fourmer boke of the masse sacrifice (dedicate to the Kynge of Pole) for that it is an ymage resembling Christes passion (ye true sacrifice) may be named alway a sacrifice. As Austeyn sayth to Simplicius. Images ar wonte to be called by ye names of those thynges wherof they be ymages, Example, when we view and beholde a paynted table or walle we saye thys is Cicero, thys is Salust, thys Cesar, Here we se both by Austeyne and Ekius judgement the communion is named a sacryfye of Christes body and bloud for that it is a resemblaunce and ymage of the same sacryfied. By reason whereof nedes it must argue, as they ymage of a thyng is not thee thyng selve: as a paynted man is no man in dede, as Cesars ymage is not Cesar ne Salust is Salust selve: So the Masse or Communyon beyng but an ymage and memorye of ye true sacryfye of christes body and bloud is not thee verye true sacrifice of them bothe. And as the communion is named the sacrifice of ye foresayd body and bloud, in consyderation the sayd sacrifice is ther in both recorded and resembled ryghte so the ministering and celebrating of the sayd communion is upon lyke respect termed ye sacrificinge of christes bodye and bloude. Thus meened our forefathers by the sacryfice and sacrificing of the sayde body and bloud. Now to the last matter incident to the masse sacrifice whych is the worshippe and instans of whole christe bothe man and god,

in and under the fourmes of bread and wyne. A dede no lesse unsytting and repugnaut too the Evangelical truth then the premises be. The pryve masse worshypers holde opynyon that Christe ought of congruence to be honoured and prayed after the consecration as beyng in the prestes handes for that he is then there bothe god and man and so ther no lesse honourable and prayable then in heaven. But thys theyr argumentacion is nothig dialectical or formal. For that the presence of Christ in a place importeth not the honour and prayeng of him in the sayd place. Is not god the father essentially in eche creature. Yet he is revered and sollicit but as resident in heaven and not in hys creatures. Is not the holy ghost in eche faythfull person. Howbeit no man worshippeth him as present in ye faithful but as in heaven. Christ is present in eche religiouse assemble assembled faythfully in his name yet notwithstanding no man doth honoure and pray unto hym as resyant in the religiouse assemble but in heaven alone. Is he not as god eche wher and consequently at the masse. Howbeit no man adjudgeth hym ther to be worshipped and called upon yf hys body were thence utterly absented. The experiens whereof is playn in that part of the masse that forgoeth consecration. Why then shuld hys bodely presence enforce us to honour and sollicite him in the sayd masse: For his body is not honourable ne prayable merely of it selve but in respect of hys godhedde personally alyed and coupled therwyth. Christ both god and man with his father and the holy goost is present at ye baptism of faythfull infantes where they become embodied and incorporate thereto it is to wete where they eate his body and driuke his bloude as reailye as we do at his supper: Howbeit no man worshippeth eyther hys body as present at baptisme ther no lesse presented then at his supper eyther els his godhed, ether for his own or for ye presens of his said body. Why then shuld ether his body be honoured as present in ye masse after the consecration or els thee presence ther of

cause us to honour his godhed in the same, ther otherwyse unhonourable: As in ye olde testament (as we learne in the vi of Daniel) the Godlye fathers in theyr exilement wandering in farren contreis farre from whom dyd in all theyr prayers made unto God dyrecte bothe theyr hartes and theyr eyes towards Hierusalem and wher so ever they cam dyd sollicite god as an inhabitant in ye same: ryght so we being as pelgrimes in this world exiled as were from heaven our Hierusalem and natyve countrie where god dwelleth must honour and pray unto hym alway as resyant in that heavenly Hierusalem and not els wher. It is wrytten in the canon of thee most worthy counsail of Nyce in sort as foloweth. Let us not grossely beholde the breade and cuppe proposed and set before our eyes but in faythe, consydere thee lambe of god in that his sacred table with our myndes elevate and uplifted. Here we se the most worthy consayle inhibiteth and diswadethe us from gaysing and tootinge upon the bread and wine, advertising us in faith to respect Christ in his supper, having our mindes erected up into heaven, In case the said consayl had estemed it fitting and leyful to worship the bread (as the most part of the lealthe, I had almost sayde of the clergie to doth, an ydolytre detestable) or Christ in the breade (as in maner all Christiādom doth a lamentable case) it wold not have forbidden us to toote upon the bred and advertised us to uplift our hartes into heaven. Doth not the prest himselfe at his masse saye a little before elevation or sacringe? We have our hartes above to ye Lord. How eyther ought or can Christ be revered and oncalled as present in the sacringe yf we, as ye masser and quere doo singe, have and oughte to have (throughe the decre of the church) our hartes and eyes two (for where our hartes be there muste our eyes be fastened also) above erected up into heaven to the Lorde for yf he were to be considered and honoured in ye masse, then we shuld have our hartes beneth and not above downward and not upward to ye Lord, then we shuld at that instante worship

hym in the prestes handes and not in heaven. Christ prescribing us an exacte trade and perfyt forme to praye wythall, enioyneth us in the same to instant and on call God the Father in heven wher he him selve is resydent on hys ryght hande (as Paul sayth) and not els where notwithstanding he be eche where. Our father sayth Christ whych is in heaven, he sayth not whych art echewhere. In respect wherof bothe ye father and ye sonne be to be worshipped and praied to in heaven

Matth. 15. alone and not els wher, for to praye otherwise (saieth Ciprian) then Christe taught us is not only an ignoraunce but a vice also; syth he sayeth, why do ye infrig and break Goddes injunccion purposely to establesh your tradicion, Chrisostome in hys exposicion upon ye Lordes prayer writeth as foloweth, whereas Christ saieth God is in heaven he doth not by yt his so saieng conclud and hemen him ther but withdraweth him who makethe his praier to hym, from ye earth and fastneth him in heaven, Item in his homely upon the sayde prayer he wryteth after thys sorte Se where ye cal upon ye father verely in heaven upon consideration whereof we crye at thee vieu of thee sacryfyce, oure hartes above where oure confesyon is bounde, lette oure hartes bee represented. Hytherto Chrisostome who in these hys sayinges that Christ is not to be honoured and prayed to in the earth and so not in ye massinge place (apart thereof) but in heaven. Further can ther be made to God at any tyme an effectual prayer withoute an uplyftinge of oure hartes to hym? No verelye. Why then praye we to Christ in ye masse sacring? Wher can be none uplyftinge but a downlyftinge of our hartes. In so moche as the places where Christes supper and the masse, bee celebrate (as al other places under heaven) be beneth and not above. Austeyn in ye behalfe of the premisses writeth, sufer lectionem evangelii, confiteor tibi pater, etc. in sorte thus, Faythfull perfectly know where and when it is sayd, let us rendre thankses to ye Lord our God. For no man rendreth thankses to ye Lord, who hath not his hart upward to the

Lorde, Note this he sayth not who has his hart downward but upward, beneth but above, dyrected but erected, in the earth but in heven to the Lorde. Dyd not Christ selve alwaye pray to hys father hys eyes erected up into heaven as it appereth in Jhon xvii Why then do we not directe our prayers to the Trinite, not as beyng here there or els wher, but in heaven alone? But here it is objected yt manye dyd worshyp and instante Christ as beyng seably conversant amonge them, namely Math. 8. Thomas, Peter, and the leprouse personne and therefore wee may in lyke maner honoure hym and on call hym in the masse or communion. To this I answere, albeit Christ was worshipful and prayeable as beyng emonge us, whyle he was sensiblye conversaunt with us; by reson he as God and men was then seable emong us and unassended to heaven; Howbeit for so moch as he is now become both unvisible emong us and resydent in heaven, on hys fathers ryghthand he is both honourable and prayable but in heven alone and not in ye erth, and consecrate bred and wine; for whi to worship him in under or before ye sayd bred and wyne is to worshyp ye same bread and wyne. As to worship God in under or before an ymage is to reverence thee ymage selve, whych is an unsufferable ydolatre and also disalowed by ye Kynges Maiesties proceding. Christe is truth spirite and the body, as Paule sayth, In respect wherof he is not Joan. 4. to be honoured moche lesse called upon in or under Colos. 3. shadowes and carnal thinges soch as the bread wyne, pyre and other earthlye thynges be. but in spirite and veritie wythoute fygure shadowe or any other carnal thinge as he hym selve sayth in Jhon iiiii. The Catholyques themselves graunte it ydolatre to worshippe Christ body under ye bread, yf ther were remayning the substance of the sayd bread, why than worshyp we the fore-sayde bodye under the bread sythe as I have heretofore argued the bread substance is not altered Wel thoughe it were, yet why shuld it not be ydolatre to honour Christes body under the accidental and outwarde fourmes of bread?

For in thys maner as well the accidentes of bread be worshipped as in thother thee substaunce therof. Now doth he show (as the father and the holy ghost do) his glory and maiestie but in heaven alone notwithstanding he be eche where. In respecte wherof he is to bee adored and sollicitated in heaven alone and not els where; for honoure and prayer importe the presence of his glorye and maiestye where they be exhibited to him, and as a king renounceth to be honoured as a king where he dys-synneleth (sic) hys personage and maiestye royall, ryghte so Christe dissymuling hys Maiesty renoume and godly personage here emong us refuseth to be revered and called upon as hee is amongst us. He is as meate receaved and eaten, and as drinke taken and drunken at hys supper; and thee masse also (yf he be there receaved at all): by reason wherof he is to be honoured and on-called nether in the one ne in the other, bycause meat and drinke be nether honored ne instanted. Thus it appeareth evydent yt the worshyp and praying to Christ at the masse, hys supper or els where, heaven exétempted is dissonnate to the sacred Scripture, worthy counsayll, auncient doctours, good reason and the nature and condition of true prayer and so discommendable; but here wol some saye God is too be honoured and prayed to in all places and so consequentlye in the priestes handes at the elevation or els where—To this I answer notwith-standing we ought to honour and sollicite God eche where, howbeit our prayers and worshippes made unto him here or ther must tende and be directed to him as inhabitants and resiant in heaven and not as here ther or els wher in the earth. Why then wol some say doth Austeyne that worthy clerke wryte to the contrarye. He sayth no man eateth christes fleshe onles he fyrst worshyppeth it and synneth it, he worship it not: Wel though Austeyne saythe Christes must be worshipped, yet he gayn sayth not me, because he sayth not no man eateth christes fleshe without he worship it as in his supper or ye masse in or under the bread, but in simple without any soch lyke glose worshyppeth it. Yea though

he were to be understand to talke of soch worship whych implieth the honour and instaunce of the sayd fleshe. By reason he maketh noo clere mencion wher the same shuld be worshypped, he is to be taken to entreate of ye worshipping of ye before mencioned fleshe in soch place wherin it is not doubted but certainly knowen it is worshipped, that is of heaven and not of any earthly place : But Augustyn meaneth by ye worshipping of Christes fleshe no soch worshippe as, honouring praying crouching or kneling therunto, but only the worthy reverent and holsom receypte and eating of the sayd fleshe. For the honour due and requisite to the said fleshe or sacrament therof, is to receyve them as christ instituted them to bee received, that is to wete wyth pure fyeth clensed conscience wyth unfayned repentaunce charitie and thankesgeving with ful desyre and purpose to be fedde wyth christes fleshe to be thereby mortefyed too syn and sanctified to be embodied to christ and not to crouch before ye bred to his fleshe or to worshipp invoke and sollicite him as presente in or under ye bred. The ryght usage of gods word and his sacramentes is recomted theyr due honour as theyr abusion dishonoure. The worde Baptisme and absolution througe meane of true and obedient fayth and clensed conscience be condignely and accordingly receyved without ether crouching or kneling eyther worshippinge or praying to God as present in ye same. So thee lordes supper is worthely and ryghtely celebrate and receyved wyth oute thee foresayd crouche worshyp and instance. Thus have I at full spoken ye fyrst part of the Masse, Now to the second whych consisteth in ye receypt of the lordes supper which wether it bee in very dede as it is named it happely may be wel doubted upon. Yea as me seameth it is not in dede. For syth at the prevy masse ther is none to suppli ye rounth and office of christ in ministering the supper it cannot be the lordes but ye priestes supper. For without christe or his minister his supper cannot be made ne distribute. Wythoute Christes wordes touching the institution of hys supper be duely reported at the

recepte of the bred and ye wyn ther cannot be his supper. How then can the masse supper be the lordes syth ther wanteth hys mynyster, who shulde reporte the sayd wordes. Yf the pryest presume to pronounce them they be the priestes and not christes, for that they be the wordes not of the gyver whyche is christe but of thee taker whyche cannot be he. Yf it were thee lordes supper that the pryest takethe at hys masse he shulde receyve it of the lorde and not of hym selve. But how can he possibly receyve it of the lorde syth theyr is none present to exhibit the priest it in christ name. But some wot saye the priest may supplye the person both of the institour exhybitour and receyver of thee masse supper, therfor it is ye lordes. Yf thys that is objected were true, then mought one baptysme hym selve, assoyle hym selve, confyrme hymselfe, marrye hymselfe, annoynthe hymselfe, whych no man be he never so catholique wot graunt, by reason as thei be thought al to be institute of christ so they must all be executed in hys name and autorite which cannot be, when there is none to supply his rounths. For the receyver of the premisses cannot possibly play both the part of the gever and of the taker. By reason they be two several persons. To this the Cathoques condescende as most certayn. Therefore as in the heretofore especified ceremonies (some of them truly but al catholiqueli termed sacramentes) one man alone cannot receyve them, for want of a second person who shuld mynyster them unto him in the lordes name and autorite notwithstanding that one man hathe used for the recepte of the same eche worde requysit and behoveable therto, Right so the prest endeavouryng hym selve to receyve the lordes supper cannot receyve it without christes minyster, an othere person ebesyde himselfe, notwithstanding he reporteth all thee wordes apperteyning to the ryght and ful institution of the sayd supper. For as the above mencioned sacramentes the receyvers reporte of the wordes belonging to the consecration of anye of the sayd sacramentes, enforceth

not the sacramentes. Example his reporting of the baptisme wordes over himselfe in, washing himselfe, or hys rehearsal of the absolution wordes upon him selfe, maketh nether baptisme ne absolution: Even so the preste beyng but the receyver that is to say he wold receave the lordes supper, cannot through hys own report of ye wordes apperteyning to ye ful institution of ye sayd supper, institute or cause the same. There is no sacrament which hath not for his ordinaunce and essencially beyng bothe hys deputed element word and commandment. Wher is ther any commaundement yea or sufferaunce to take or institute ye lordes supper alone. Certes not in ye holy scripture. Can ther be instituted ye lordes supper wythout the due rehearsal of the wordes concerninge the same. Can the sayde wordes be justlye esteemed christes not construed as he meanted them. Noo verelye, Therefore lette the masser reporte them in hys pryvate Masse so oft as hym lyst, they be not the lordes wordes. For that take ye, eate ye, drynke ye, impleye both a commaundemente and a seconde person to the receypte of the Lordes bodye and bloude, and to the consecration of the sacramente of the same. Whyche bothe wante in thee Pryestes supper, and so it is not the lordes. Wherefore as it is falsly so presumptuously and blasphemously termed ye lords supper. But let it be ye same that the masser taketh in hys masse yet it is there haynouslye abused, for that it is celebrated contrary to hys commaundement any otherwyse then he instituted it. He had us sever the consecrate breade charitablye among us and not eche of us to reserve it to Luke 22. hym selfe, and to eate uncharytablye al alone as ye Matt. 26. prest dothe. He had us take and eate hys bodye and not to worship it and uplyft it as the prest doth. He 1 Cor. 10. had us at the celebration and receypte of his supper receave and eat hys body in his remembraunce and thankfully to showe his death among the congregation whych the priest pretermittethe and not to sacrifice his body and bloude as the prest dothe. He had us saye Matt. 26.

not only take eate this is my bodi but also which is geven for you (a clause most fruyteful and nedefull) which the prest as vayne and superfluouse overhyp-pethe. He had us take and eate hys body for oure selves alone and not for others also in that he commaundeth us to eate it, for no man can effectualli eate it for another. But the prest doth not onely eate it for hym selve, but for others also, both quyk and dead : Which as it is impossible for him to do effectuallye so to attempt is a superstition. Can another mans eating releife myn hunger. Can hys drinkinge release my thyrste. Can another man be baptysed assoyled, priested, maryed, conformed or anoynted for me. How then can the prestes receypt and celebratinge of thee communion be myne or avayleable to me. Chrisostome upon the xv chap. of the fyrst to the Corinthians wryteth to the mayntenaunce of the premisses in sort as followeth. As one man cannot be christened for another speciallye beyng dead, so no man can receyve the body and bloud of christ. for another namely beyng dead. Hereto agreeth Antididagma, but be it it be so that the priest may receave and eate the lordes supper for others, whether they be quicke or deade. Yet for as moch as

Rom. 1. he cannot possibly beleve for another (the juste man saith Paul shall lyve by his owne fayeth) it muste no remedy be that he both taketh and eateth the Lordes supper to the dampnacyon of them whatsoever they bee good or bad, deade or quicke for whom he taketh and eateth ye same. By rason he taketh and eateth the sayd supper for theym unworthelye for want of hys belevyng for theyme, whyche is merely nedeful to the holosome and worthye receypte and usage of thee before mencyoned supper. Well thoughe it were so that the preyst bothe coulde eat the Lordes supper for others, and beleve for theym also : Howbeyt in so much the sayd pryste usyth in hys massing the sayd supper, otherwyse then Christe hym selve instytuted it (as is heretofore declared) nedes must hee receyve it bothe to

hys own dampnacyon and others because (as S: Ambrose wryteth upon ye leaventh of ye fyrst to thee Corinthians) who so useth ye Lordes supper otherwise ^{1 Cor. 11.} then he hymselfe ordered, receiveth it unworthely and consequently to his dampnation as Paul saith. Thus it is plane that ye private masse supper is to be discontinued and surcesed as blasphemouse to God and annoyous to the practycioners therof, and the devocyon and holyness, that is supposed to be in the usage thereof is mere ydolatrie and superstycion, and so both dampnable and exchevable. Wherefore they who deme it both reasonable and godly that the masser mought masse it alone, whan others refuse joynctlye to masse wyth hym bycause no man oughte to be a stoppage and hinderance of anothers devocyon, be no lesse deceyved then thee Jewes, who adjudged theyre condempnyng of the evangelical doctryne and persecuting of christ and his disciples both a sufferable and serviceable service too God, in consideration it was done of devotyon. Now to prayer the thyrd part of the solytarye masse, whyche is for soundrye consyderatyons blame worthy. Fyrste for that therein those saintes bee oncalled as advours and ayders who be not here presently conversant among us but ar fare soundred and distanted from us in place namelye in heaven. For though we mought praye unto ye sayd saintes as beyng presentlye and conversaunt wyth us as wee do one to another assembled together, howbeit for as moch they be farre placed from us (they in heaven we in ye earth) we ought not to instaunte them. For why that were to attribute and render to them the honour dewe and incidente to God alone, it is to weete ye knowledge of our hartes and the hearinge of the farre absent. In case I beyng at Cambridge dyd desyre eyther you, eyther any mans then beyng not present wyth me but eyther at Yorke or London to praye for me (whom otherwyse present with me I mought both wel and wysely), wold not eche man depose that my desyre bothe vaynelye and indiscretely

made of me? Bycause noo man beyng at that present, eyther at Yorke or London what tyme I praye to him in Cambredg, eyther heareth or understandethe yt my prayer? Yeas trulye, how then can our prayers be fruyteful and effectual which he directed to the heaven Sainctes who be farrer distanted or soundred from us then eyther London or Yorke from Cambredg? But the heaven Sainctes wol some saye beyng conversant or present wyth God espye in hym as in a glasse, al the secretes and entendementes of our hartes and so orderly perceave what we praye for and to whom, this sophistical cavil or objection is nothing answerable to Goddes worde wherin it is expresly wrytten in sorte as foloweth, Thou alone knowest the hartes of the sonnes of menne, howe coulde thys be veryfyed and justified that God alone understandeth mens hartes, yf the heaven Sainctes knowe them also? Abraham sayth Esaye lxiii knoweth us not, Israell knoweth us not, so maye we saye, Paule knoweth us not, Peter knoweth us not, for why they were asmoch pryveledged and regarded as Peter and Paul. It is wrytten in thee ix of thee boke named preacher, that the dead knowethe nothing any more, upon the whyche text Hierome sayth thus, there is noo knowledge after death ne any sense after the dissolutyon of thys lyfe. Wherefore as it is an ungodly so an untrue sayinge the heaven Sainctes knoweth our hartes notwithstandinge theyr conversation wyth God. It was notably inhibited in the counsayle of Carthage that any saincte shulde be called upon at thee aulter, that the priest shuld utter thys or lyke prayer. S Paule or Peter praye for me. Why then contrarye both to the scripture and the sayd godly counsayl do we instant supersticiousli the heaven saintes at our massing. But ynough hereof. The seconde consyderation whey masse prayer is to bee discommended is by reason therein, it is prayed for the dead, not so moche too declare therby our charitie towarde them in wishing them saved (which purpose ware no lesse sufferable then charitable) as

2 Chro. 6.

through our prayers too redeme them oute of purgatory or at lest to enlessen theyr paynes in the same. Whych for to thynke wel done as it is an untollerable erreure so for to attempte is a synneful superstition. For who so dothe departe oute of this worlde, dieth eyther in ye lorde or without him. If he die without hym then incontinent remedyles he is condemned. For wythout christe ther is no mercy to be achyved or hadde, al promisses sayth Paul be in Christ, yea and amen. But ^{2 Cor. 1.} yf he die in the lord he is both blessed and enfranchised from al travayl as S. Jhon wryteth in, xiiii of his revelation. In that Johan avoucheth the departed in thee lorde to be blessed, he doth us to understand they be not payned in purgatorye els were they cursed and not blessed. In that he pronouncethe them quite delyuered from al labour, he doth us to wete they be no more molested or tormented eyther in purgatorye or els were els shuld thei endure in labour, For to bee payned in purgatorye is a grevous travayl. Agayne whoso dieth in the Lorde dyeth in fayth, whoso dyeth in faythe, escapeth both deth and judgement and so consequently purgatory also whych is a payneful judgement after our catholique doctrine. Verely verely I say unto you ^{Johan 5.} saythe christ, He that heareth my wordes and beleveth on hym that hath sent me hath everlasting lyfe and shal not come into judgements but is scaped from death to lyfe. As concernynge the other dead sort as it dyeth wythout Christe so wythoute fayth, therfore it is everlastinglye and so not pardonably in purgatory, but unpardonably placed in hel. Wherupon it formally argueth ther is no purgatorye. Thee dead saythe Solomon in ye ix of his boke entitled ye preacher have no more a reward. Whych hys saying were not true yf they mought be through our prayers sacryfices or otherwise delivered out of purgatore. For theyr delivery were a great reward. Yf any shulde come to purgatore it is very like and colourable that the thefe which was hanged with christ, shuld have ben for a season placed

- and payned therein, being soch a synful liver as he was tyl his dieng houre, but he incontinent after hys hence departure went with christ to paradise. In consideration wherof it is right certeyn that purgatore is but an ymagyned and sayned place, by reason wherof ye praiers and sacrifices institute to release and redeme solles out of the same (otherwise called ye thyrd place wherein they
- 2 Mac. 12. be payned) be bothe vayn and superstitious. The place of ye Machabees which ye catholiques alledge to the mayntenaunce of the sayd place is not autentical or received for scripture as Hierome, Gregory Ruffinus record. The canones whiche the catholiques father of ye apostles, the canons of the last consayl of Leedes and Aphricane regestered ye bible bokes without any mention made of the Machabees at al, which argueth that then the bokes of Machabees were uncanonised. It is wryten in ye heretofore alledged place of ye sayd Machabees that Judas caused both sacrifice and prayer to be made to purge and do away ye syn of ye murdered Jewes withal, and is in the sayd boke commended for that his so doying which is an undeceaveable argument that the said boke is not autentical or canonical. For the leviticall sacrifices dyd not do away syn before God.
- Heb. 10. It is impossyble sayth Paule to the Hebrewes that the bloud of oxen and gottes shuld take away sinnes. Agayn ther be no sacrifices or prayers commanded of God in the behalfe of the dead. Therefore the before mencioned boke is nothinge lesse then canonical. In consideration it approveth matters added to gods word
- Deut. 20. contrary to his expresse commaundement. Here incidently by the way we may lerne that syth God in the old law (the tyme of imperfection) injoynd neyther sacryfyce ne prayer for the dead, it is not hys mynde that now in the new testament (the tyme of perfection) he being also now moch more mercyfull then before christes incarnation ther shuld be made eyther sacryfyce or prayer for the dead to redeme and release them wyth-al (as otherwyse unredemed and payned Forther yf the

foresayd boke were throughly wrytten by the enbrethinge of the holy ghost (otherwise uncanonised as Peter saith) then this ensuing clause shuld not have ben ^{2 Peter 1.} interplaced in thende therof. And yf wel and as it is ^{2 Macc. 15.} convneable for a storye. I wyshe the same, yf not worthely, I must be pardoned, which wyshe or sayenge is utterlye unworthy the profession yf the holye ghost, who sayth and wryteth al matters both wel and godly, and so nedeth no pardon for the same, Yf the place of Paul whych the catholiques alledge for purgatorye were ^{1 Cor. 3.} to be understanden of the same, then questionless were ye Apostles fyrst placed and vexed in the sayd purgatory, ere they came to heaven. For why Paul talking in ye same place namely of preachers avoucheth that the fyre shal trye eche mans worke what it is, and consequently the apostles for that they were both men and preachers. So that Paule was not incontinent after hys hence departure wyth Christe as he wysshed to bee; For to bee placed and tormented in purgatorye is not to be with Christ. So that Lazarus and ye thefe were not ^{Luke 16.—23.} immedi ally upon theyr decease, thone in paradise thother in Abrahames bosome, places of pleasure, and not of wofulnes as purgatorie is. If Christes talke in Mathew v concerning the extreme emprisonment of certayn, enforced for purgatore then neyther soule masses sacryfices ne prayers could enforce anye thing to the ransome and deliveraunce of them, who are payned in the same. For theyr christe swereth they shal not come oute thense, tyl they payed the uttermost farthinge. What can prayer, sacryfice or masse avayle her sythe christe so exactly demaundeth the full paymente of thee dett as wythoute it the emprysoned shall not be freedomed and delyvered. He speaketh of a place where justice is executed and not mercee, that is hel and not purgatore. Bute of another sayenge of Christe in the sayd Mathew xii: oure catholiques do argue for purgatore but expuris ne gratius and therfore theyr argumentation beynge not formall is nothing effectuall. The

cause why oure aunciente wryters saye they sacrifice and praye for the dead, was not to delyver them out of payne thereby (For they sacrificed and prayed for ye patriarches prophetes apostles also who then were perfit already in heaven and had no nede of theyr prayers or sacrifices) but partely too declare thereby theyr charitie towards the hence departed in wel wyssyinge them and rendring god thanks for theyr salvation and endeles blessefulnes partly to assure and warrant the survyvers at the remembraunce of the good and blessfull estate of the deceased, both of everlastinge lyfe and bodelye resurrection. To sacryfyce Christes body and bloud eyther for the dead or quycke, after the true meanyng of the foresayd wryters, is namely to recite and pray for the sayd personnes in those our prayers which we make at the receypt of the lordes supper, called otherwyse of them the sacryfyce of the lordes bodye and bloud, in consideration it is a resemblaunce therof and not as ye selle massers mistake it to up offre the sayd body and bloud in very dede to clense thee quycke, and too redeme and raunsome the deadde oute of purgatory wythal, for after thys lyfe ther is no purging ne amendement place; therefore sayth Ciprian in the fyrst treate agaynst Demetrian when we hence departe ther is no place of repentaunce, here lyfe is ether forfettred or atteigned, whyle we be here saith Chrisostome in hys second homeli of Lazarus we have good hope, but so soone as we shal hence departe, we shal not eyther repent or do alwaye syn. The same Chrisostome in ye two and twentye sermon to the people saith, ther be none occasions of meriting after this lyfe; whoso (sayth Ambrose in the ij chap. of hys boke concernyng the goodnes of death) hath not here receyved remyssyon of syn shall not receave it ther. There is no place, sayth Austeyn in hys Epistle to Macedonius, of correcting our demeinnour, but in this life. For after this lyfe eche man shall have that whych he procured to him in thys; what can be more openlye and dyrectly wrytten agaynst the popysh pur-

gatorye, then the alledged auctoritees? why then do we mayntayn purgatorie contrary both to ye scripture and auncient wryters? but be it there were a purginge place wherin the hence departed solles be payned, yet because yt catholyques make it a merci place, whence at ye judgement day eche soule ther tormented shal be delyvered and conducted to heaven, whether it be praied sacrificed or massed for or no, and do also institute for ye sayde sowles both prayers sacrifices and masses, not for a yere or two but to ye worldes ende, to be executed in there behalfe as stil punished, and anguished; in purgatory, they declare ful plainely by yt ther so doying, yt nether soule prayer, soul sacrifice nor soule masse avayleth ye said soules any thing at al. In consyderacion at the judgement daye they shal be thence delyvered wether they have bene praied for, sacryficed for or massed for or no. In respect wherof the soule prayers solle sacryfice and soule masses be both vaynly and superstyciously institute and so sinfully for that we must not take ye name of god in vayne. The third and last cause why masse prayer is disprovable is by Exod. 20. reason therin it is prayed that God thee father wold vouchsafe to accept ye priest sacrifice for ye ful redemption both of the dead and quycke, whych as it is an abhominable so a blasphemouse request. For why to instant God the fathere to accept thee sayd sacrifyce for a contentacyon and satysfaction of synne, as it is unpossyble for him to graunt, so for ye masser eyther to think or desyer it of him (as a matter for him to desier and god to graunt) is both an abhominacyon and a blasphemy insufferable. For why that were to beseache god ye father to disanul and embecyl christ his sonnes death, ye alon satysfactorte sacrifice, and place in ye stede therof, the masse sacrifice an exchaunge no lesse wicked before god, then preiudicial to man. What a mockedg and blaspheming of god is this, for the masser to praye in ye lordes prayer let thy wyll be done in earth and yet contrary to goddes wyl to pray for the erection

and acceptaunce of hys sacrifice to ye great hinderaunce and derogation of christes which was perfyted and wrought at hys majestyes appoyntemnte. What is to take the name of god in vayne if that be not: and so sinneful. What is to flocke and despyse god yf that be not. In respecte wherof masse prayer is reprocheful. Now to the fourth and last part of ye masse named doctrine, whych in consideration it teacheth and rati-fieth thee damnable synfulness of the before mencioned partes of this solitary masse exhorting and occasioning the laye people bothe to embrace and worship the same is fautie as thei be.

For the doctryne of a synneful matter is synful as the matter selve. Not onlye to ryot is synne, but the doctryne also therof, and the alluse to the same. To steale and to teache or exhort to steale be both defaultes. Too synne and to teache or move to synne be bothe synnefull. Even so to pryvat masse it and to teache and motion so to do be both defaultes eschewable. Here am I demaunded wether I suppose the epystell and gospel interplaced in the masse to be godly and approveable or no. To the whyth demaunde thus I answer. The gospels and epystell yf they were not abused and misplaced were both godly and commendable. But for so moch as thei be inserted and placed in the pryvee masse to the furniture worship and commendation therof, and for a coverte or cloke at the ungodlynes in the same, they so misused must nedes be synneful. Meate and drinke be good and receyveable but enpoysoned, they be nought and unreceaveable and poison theyr eaters and drinkers as the pure poyson selve doth, wherewith they ar poisoned: Right so gods worde merely of it selve is good and frutful but abused ungodli displeasing god and empeching man, as the syn abusion doth, wherewith it is corrupted. An example and evidence wherof we have both in oure massing and conjuring wherin gods wordes be haynousli abused. There is no service ne worship whiche god so highly estemeth or so

straytly injoyneth to be observed, but beyng misused is not only not serviceable and acceptable, but moch displeasaunt also and hateful to him. Because it is executed, not after but contrary to his wyl and therefore sinfull and detestable before hym who commaunded only ye ryght usage and not ye abusage (as of al other maters) so of ye premisses. Notwithstanding God commaunded both insence to be used and holy daies to be observed, howbeit he openly by hys prophetes avoucheth he hath them in hate and detestation, not in respect of them selves, for he had them, but in consideration of theyr abusion which he inhibited. I hate saithe he by his prophete Amos and abhorre your holy dayes and when ye sence me when ye come together I wol not accompt it; and further by hys prophete Esay i. he sayeth thus, I abhorre your incense, I may not away with your new mones your sabathes and solempne daies, etc. Note this diligently, God saith not, I abhorre ye for your abusyng of the holy dayes nor he sayth, I abhorre your abuse of ye holy dayes, but, I abhorre your holy daies, he saith not I abhorre ye for your abusion of incense, new moones sabbathes and solempne dayes nor he sayth, I abhorre ye abusion of your incense new moones sabathes and solempne daies, wherby he doth us to wete yt he doth not only hate and detest ye abusers with there abusage of hys commaunded service and worshippe, but ye service also and worship selve, as an inhybyted synne practysed of man and forged of ye devyl, and not as an honour injoynd approved and devysed of hym and through his grace put in practice of man—In consideration wherof God nameth the foresaide holydayes newe moones sabbathes not hys but youres, it to wete ye Jewes whom he spooke unto. For nothing yt is sinfull (as eche abused mater is) ought to be fathered of God Jacob. 1. the fountane and authore not of sinfulness but of goodnes only, which matere is by ye meane of his abusage not a parte only, but throughlie faultie. A little leaven (sayth Paule) soureth ye whole lump of 1 Cor. 5.

dowe; wherby he doth us to understande, yt as othere abused matters be not a part only, but entierly and thoroughly vicious and synful, so the preat masse is in like maner as wel in his doctryne, as in ye other hys essential partes. Sethe (good reader) there is no portyon of the pophyshe pryvat masse that doth not hyghly displease God as repugnant to hys wrytten worde and derogatorye to hys honour and annoy man as noyous both to hys body and soule: I besech the with all possible endeavour exchewe it and no maner wyse, accepte it as ether approveable eyther els a sufferable matter; If God's honour cannot occasion and move us to the utter refusal and avoydaunce therof, let us wel respecte the great benefyt and commodytye that redounethe ther upon—If nether God's glorye ne our profyt can enforce us to ye premisses, then we be worse than brutish beestes, which, though not for God's glori, yet for their own profyt, ar ledde willingly, hither and thither. We resort to ye church purposely. to serve God therin not wyth mans service, which he inhibiteth and dislyketh but with hys own alone, which he commaundeth and accepteth. So yt in the congregation no maner service ought to be frequented, but that alone which is both openlye and truly fonded upon God's wryten worde. Why then is not thee prieste pryvee masse abandoned and abolished quyte out of the congregation which is not quadrant, but variant to the sayd word, whiche doth not ratify and establish but invert and subvert the ryght institution and usage of ye sacrament of Christes body and bloud (as is heretofore argued at ful), and in ye romth therof why is not the communion frequented? Is not the sayd communion a new Testament as Christ selve saythe in Luke xxii? Can a man therfore not synfully but leyfulli alter the order therof. No verelye. for Gal. 3. as S. Paule sayth it is not leyful to exchange man's moche lesse Gods wyl legacye and testament. Why then doo we reteygne accepte and use solytare masse? which is an unsitting exchange of the communion (the

lordes Testament and legacye). Is not the sayd communion a sacrament of charitye and love? In consyderation wherof it is not to be receaved of one alone but of manye at ones. for charytye consysteth in many and not in one alone. Why then use we styll thee prieste masse? whyche is rather an union then a communion and an argument rather of hate and dissention then of love and unite; for therin the priest uncharitably sondereth hym selve from the congregatyon, as one severed not in place alone, but in harte also, from the same. It is no marveyll that ye prieste is had in great hate and contemptement emong hys parishioners seith he so uncharitabli taketh, eateth, and drinketh al alone, dissevering and sequestering him selve from hys accompanable parrishioners, lest they wold communycate (as charitable godlynnes requyreth) wyth him. It is a lamentable syght to behold the great and untollerable uncharitableness whyche our pryvate massing prestes shew toward theyr parishioners; Verelye (as me seamethe) theyr pryvate massyng is no smal occasyon therof. by reason as the communion engendereth orderly lowe, so thee pryvate massyng hate in the frequenters of the same—for why, as they be contrary in nature so they be in effect and operation. Wherefore the sayd massinge is not to be frequented of any, but is to be disused of eche Christian—who ought to endeavour him selve to be charitable and not uncharitable we ought (sayth Paul) to eate al of one lofe, and drinke al of one cup, we oughte (as the same Paule wolleth us) assemble together to the receypt of the communion and one to take it orderly after another, these premisses cannot be accomplished and veryfyed in the pryvate masse, where the priest severally all alone hath hys loofe and eateth it alone, wher there is none assemble assembled together to receive thee communion, but to gaze upon the prestes receypt and doynge, where none receaveth the sayd communion orderly one after another, but unorderly one alone. Wherefore thee sayde masse is to be discontinued and abandoned,

1. Cor. 10.

- for whi, he is accursed whoso teacheth eyther in woorde, deyde, or joyncillye in both another doctryne in relygion
- Gal. 1. then that whych Paul learned us, as he hym selve recordeth the same. We muste not do what we lyste, but what God commaundethe us as it is wrytten in Deuteronomy xii. for why, oure carnall reason and entendementes be merely repugnaunt, both to his sayenges and doyuges, and so displeasaunt and hateful to him—the
- Rom. 8. sense of ye fleshe (sayth Paule) is enmytee agaynst God. In case we moughte worship God as we lyst, why dyd he appoynt and prescribe us a prescripte order to worshippe him withal? Yf we mought sittingly honoure hym after our wyl and fantasy; then eche made worshyp were syttinge and leyful and so consequentelye ther were none ydolatree at al, then were there no dyfference betwexte oures and thee Turkes, Jewes, Paynymes, Ethnikes, and other miscreantes religion, for they be onely differenced by Goddes wrytten woorde. If we moughte order Christes supper after our arbitrement, then why dyd he institute and prescribe us a trade and order to be observed in the celebration therof? Why
- 1 Cor. 11. dyd Paule reprove and blame thee Corinthians for theyr dissorder and abuse of the same? Ar not wee named Christians for that we ought to professe and geve ful credence to his sayenges and practyse and embrace hys doyinges as followable and beleveable? but howe doo we answere to our name and profession in our solitarie massing? wherein we do not only not ensue Christes practyse and order, but throughly subvert and invert the same concernynge the administration of his supper. Are we not called faythful for that we ought to grounde al our religion upon our fayth? whych fayth issueth
- Rom. 10. only from God's wrytten word, as Paule recordeth, other wyse no true fayth; but how can we be in dede as we be named, yf we admit and frequente as wee doo, to thee greate and unsufferable empechementes bothe of Christes honoure and our solles salvation, the prest prevy masse? whych is variant to Gods worde. Ther-

fore as it is an unfaythful, so a synneful misdede, for that which is wrought wythout fayth is synne, as Paul saith, Rom. 10. Are we not straytelye injoyued of God utterly to abandon and avoyd all ydolatrie? how do we observe and accomlishe this his injunction whyle we embrace and accepte the sayde masse? whych is a made worshyppe of God, and so ydolatrie. for the worshyp of any phantasye entent conceypt and ymage, or any other matter else, forged of mans brayne wythout Goddes wrytten word, is questionles ydolatrie: hereto accordeth Hierome (who upon the last of Hieromye on thys verse, And they put theyr ydols in the house, etc, wrytethe in sorte thus) not only then Judas reposed in Gods temple and ydoll ymage wherof we rede in the fyrst of Ezechiel, but now styll in Gods house, whych by interpretacion is the congregation) or in the hart of ye belevers, is placed an ydol, whensoever any new doctrine is forged and after the law adored and worshypped in the secrete; and upon the twentye of Ezechyel they sayd Hierome calleth the inventions and devyces of the phylosophers and herytyques, the Egyptians ydols. Auncient usage in other matters of relygion semeth to be of moche force and importance to ye acceptance and establishment of any soch semblable matter, but her is our pryvate masse matter the sayd usage is nothyng esteemed (to sure an argument, I feare me of oure parcialitee in scripture matters) Was not Christes own administration of Matt. 26. his supper the fyrst original usage therof? and so the auncienteth? wherein none alone but soundrye joynctly together dyd communicate? In the premative church it was both observed and enacted that all the whole congregation assembled shuld communicate wyth thee prieste or minister, as it doth wel appere in Gracian de consecra. distinct. i. in the canon Omnes, whyche is fathered of the Apostles, in thee Canon, Episcopus fathered of Anacletus, and de consecra. distinct. ii. in the canon Peracta, Calixtus thus wryttethe, when the consecration is done, let eche man then presente communi-

cate, and them who wol not to be excommunicate This thee Apostles enacted, thys doth the Romysh church hold and observe. Note thys that Calixtus doth not onli declare that it is his wyl and commaundement al they who be present at the communion tyme shuld communicate, els to be excommunicate, but the Apostles decree and the usage of the Romishe church also; ther be (saith Erasmus upon the psalme, Quam dilectabernacula) who reyre in thee masse a communion, In dede I graunt so it was instituted of Christ and so it was in thee olde tyme observed; Albert in hys boke of thee masse misteries recordeth, it was fyrst in wont that al the togethers assembled persones in ye church did communicat eche day, when yt could not be observed it was decreed that on eche sondaye al the hole congregation shuld communicate, when this neyther could be observed, it was decreed that thryse in the yeare at Easter, Whitsondaye and Christmasse, the communion shuld be receyved of the whole congregation; and when thys could nether be observed it was enacted that ones in the yeare the sayde communion shuld be receaved of the whole congregation. Here we may learne of Albert that in the primative church all thee whole congregation dyd communicate eche daye joynctly togethers. Further in case we wold wel and earnestly respect the consyderatyon of oure repayre to the church, and what also is of the masser reported oute of hys masse boke at thee celebration of thee communion; we moughte wel understande that the sayd communion shuld alway be receyved of a compaygne and not of one alone. Do we not (I pray ye) repayre to the church, as to the common place, wherein we shulde make common prayers nothing

1 Cor. 14. excuting pryvatly but all commonly? Saynt Paule avoucheth, nothinge ought to be executed in thee church, but that which redowneth to ye edifying and behove of the whole congregation, so that as the church is a common place so the prayers therin shulde be common, so the celebration of the communion must be

common and not pryvate, as the wordes of the masse canon reported after the communion do wel declare, whych be thees followynge; That, that we have receyved by the mouth, Lord graunt we may receave wyth hart purposely that ther may be made unto us an everlasting remedy of the body and bloud of our Lord Jesu Christ. It is not said I, but we, have received. The priest, as here, so in other places saith not I, but we, even whyle he communicateth all alone, wherby it is gatherable ye masser shuld communicat not severally alone but jounctlye wyth others, for 'wee' importeth a multitude and not a singularitee. Some ther be who deme the solitary massing an indifferent and consequently a sufferable matter, wel thoughe it were so, as questionles it is not, howbeit for so moch as we have utterlye renounced the Romishe bishop with al his usurped autorite, we ought of congruence abandon theyrwyth the pryvate masse, whych he forged and fathered, lesse we through reteygnemente and usage therof be occasioned to resume and agayn embrace the sayd bishop with al his unfytting and pretended authorite: for upon semblable consyderation God inhibited the Israelites Levit. 18. the usage of the Egyptyans ceremonies, wherewith they had heretofore bene enfected, albeit soundry of the by al lykelyhode were indifferent. Notwithstanding (gentle reder), I heretofor have moch what vehemently gaynsayd the previe masse and condemned here as detestable erroneouse and blasphemous; howbeit I trust ye wolste accepte this my labour, embracing and ensuing my doctrine therin, as ensuable and credible, syth it tendeth not to God's dishonour but to his honoure, not to thine empechement, but to thy great comodite, not to the hinderance and overthrowe, but to the redresse recovery and furtherance of ye true masse, otherwise named the communion whych cannot be so highly esteemed and so ofte frequented as of necessitye it oughte, wythoute the prieste masse be hated and detested, for bothe it and the communion cannot

be jointly regarded Whoso loveth thee one must nedes hate thother, for why, they be mere contraries. But how can thee prieste masse be hadde in worthy hate? yf her abominacyon were not at full dysclosed? In respect wherof, thou seest how nedeful it is yt she shuld be both gaynesayed and condemned as heresy, and abandoned as ydolatrie, God of hys mercye graunt us all to learne, love credyte and mayntegne hys truth and lyve thereafter. Amen.

APPENDIX II.

GESTE'S LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. No. 114. p. 465.

My duetye humblye presupposed to your grace thees be to doo y^e same to vnderstand that at y^e last I have sent your grace your booke againe with such notes & advertisementes that for my busynes I could well gather I besech yower grace that when you have redde them that I might have them agayne ffor M^r. Secretarye wold see them. If your grace will have me to amende them I am at your cōmandement I will be with your grace upō frydaye to knowe your mynde & to have the booke I have not altered y^e translation but where it gyveth occasion of an errour As in y^e first psalme at y^e begynnyng I turne y^e preterperfit tense the present tense because the sence is to harde in the preterperfitt tense. Where in y^e new testamēt one peece of a psalme is reported I translate it in y^e psalme accordinge to y^e translation thereof in y^e new testamēt for y^e avoydyng of y^e offence that maye rise to y^e people vpō diverser translations.

Where two great letters be ioyned together or where one great letter is twice put it signifyeth that both the sentences or y^e wordes be expounded together. Thus trustynge that your grace will take in good part my rude handlȳg of the psalmes I most hartely bidde the sone well to fayre in Christ

Yours graces to his poore powr

Edm̄ Roffen.

APPENDIX III.

SIR WILLIAM CECIL'S LETTER TO PARKER.

MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.
p. 411.

It may please yo^r grace. I have sought for the writing w^{ch} yo^r grace desired, but yet I can not find it. This included came by the serch to my hands, w^{ch} was don by my Lord of Rochester, before he was Bushop, and so I send the same that yo^r grace may puse, and as it shall please the same so long to retaine it, And so I humbly end, from Weston, this xxjth of December, 1566.

Your graces hu bly at com

W. CECILL.

Indorsed :—To my Lord of Canterburies grace.

APPENDIX IV.

GESTE'S LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL, ACCOMPANIED
BY THE SERVICE BOOK.*MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge.*
No. 106, p. 413.

RIGHT honourable that you might well vnderstande that I have neither vngodlye allowed any thinge agaist y^e scripture neither vnstedfastlye doen any thinge contrary to my writynge, neither rashely without just cause put away y^t, wiche might be well suffered, nor vndiscretelye for noveltie brought in that, wich might be better

left out. I am so bold to write to youre honour some causes of y^e order taken in y^e new service, wiche enterprice thoughe you maye iustlie reprove for y^e simple handlynge, yet I trust you will take it well for my good meanynge, Therefore cōmittynge yowre honourable estate to y^e great mercie of god, & folowyng y^e entent of my writynge thus I begyne the mattier.

Of ceremonies.

Ceremonies ones taken awaie as evill vsed shuld not be taken agayne, thoughe they be not evill of themselves but might be well vsed, & y^t for fower causes. The first, because y^e Galathians were reprov'd of Poule Gal. 5. for receavyng agayne y^e ceremonies, wiche ones they had forsaken biddynge them to stande in y^e libertie wherein they were called & forbiddynge them to wrappe them selves in y^e yoke of bondage, saynge they builded agayne that, wiche they had destroyed, & reprovynge Peter for y^t by his dissemblinge he provoked y^e gentils Gal. 2. to y^e ceremoniall lawe, wiche they had left, lookig backe Luc. 9. hereby frō y^e ploughe, wiche they had in hand. The second cause because Poule forbiddeth vs to absteyne 1 Thess. 5. not onely frō y^t, which is evill but also frō all y^t, wiche is not evill, but yet hath y^e appearānce of evill. ffor this cause Ezechias destroyed y^e brasen serpent, and 4 Regn 18 Epiphanius y^e picture of Christ. The third cause because y^e gospell is a short worde puttyng awaye y^e Rom. 10. law wiche stode in decrees & ceremonies, and a light Eph. 2. & easie yoke delyveringe vs frō them. Therefore is it Matth. 11. saied y^t we shuld worshippe god in spirite & truethe Joā. 4. & not in ceremonies & shadowes also, as did y^e iewes. Gal. 4. And Poule likeneth vs christians for our fredome frō ceremonies to men wiche lyve in all libertie, & y^e iewes for there bondage in them to men lyvinge in all thraldome. Wherefore Austene writynge to Januarius against Epistola 118. y^e multitude of ceremonies thus saith Christ hath bound 119. vs to a light burthen ioynynge vs together with sacramentes

in nombre most few, in kepyng most easie, in signification most passinge And in y^e next epistle folowyng he bewayleth y^e multitude of ceremonyes in his tyme, & calleth the presūptions, wiche yet were but few in respect of y^e nombre of ours.

The fourt cause, becausse thees ceremonies were devised of man & abused to idolatrye. ffor Christ with his apostles wold not wasshe there handes before meate though of it selve it was an honest civill order, because it was supstitiouslie vsed. Poule forbad y^e Corinthiās to come to y^e gentils tables, where they did eate y^e meate, wich was offered to idols, though an idol was nothinge, nor y^t wich was offered to it any synne.

Matth. 15.

1 Cor. 10.

Off the crosse.

Epiphanius in an epistle, wich he wrote to Ihon bishop of Ierusalem, & is translated by hierome, sheweth how he did cutt in peces a cloth in a churche, wherein was paynted y^e image of Christ, or of some saint, because it was agaīst y^e scripture & consellethe y^e bisshoppe to coōmande, y^e preistes of y^e same churche to sett vp no more any suche cloth in y^e same place callynge it a superstition to have any suche in y^e churche. Leo y^e emperour with a coñcell holden at Constantinople decreed y^t all ymages in y^e churche shuld be broken. The same was decreed longe before in y^e provinciall coñcell at Elibert in Spayne cap. 36.

Hieronim.
2^o. tomo eptarū.

Of procession.

Procession is superfluous, becausse we maye (as we ought to doo) praye for y^e same in y^e churche, that we praye for abroad, yea & better too because when we praye abroad our mynde is not so sett vpon god for sight of thinges (as experience teachethe) as when we praye in y^e churche, where we have no suche occasion to move our mynde withall.

Off vestmentes.

Because it is thought sufficient to vse but a surples in baptizing readyng preachinge & prayenge, therefore it is ynough also for y^e celebratyng of y^e cōmunion. ffor Gal. 3. if we shuld vse an other garmēt herin, it shuld seme to teach vs, that higher & better thinges be gyven by it, then be gyven by y^e other service, wiche we must not beleve. ffor in baptism we putt on Christ, In y^e worde we eate & drynke Christ, as Hierome & Gregorie write, And Austene sayth y^e worde is as precious, as this sacrament in saynge he syñeth as mich, wich neglentie heareth y^e worde, as he wich willingly letteth Christis body to falle on y^e grownd, And Chrisostome sayth he wich is not fitt to receave, is not fitt to praye, wich were not true, if prayer were not of as miche importaunce as y^e cōmunion.

super eccliaſte
cap. 6.
Job. lib. 50. ho-
miliarū homil.
2s. tomo. 10.
Chrisost. homil.
61 ad populū
Antioch.

Off y^e devydinge y^e service of y^e cōmuniō into
two partes.

Dionisius Ariopagita saith y^t after y^e readings of y^e old & new testamēt y^e learners of y^e faith before they were baptized, mad men, & they wich were ioyned to penaunce for there faultes were shut out of y^e churche & theye onely did remayne, wich did repent. Chrisostome witnesseth also, y^t thees thre sortes were shut out frō y^e cōmunion. Therefore Durant writeth y^t y^e masse of y^e learners, is frō y^e introitæ vntill after the offertorie, wich is called missa masse or sendyng out in y^t it sendeth out, because when y^e preist begyñeth to consecrate y^e sacramēt, y^e learners be sent out of y^e churche. The masse or sending out of y^e faithfull is frō y^e offerynge till after cōmunion & is named messa a sendyng out because when it is ended, then eche faithfull is sent furth to his proper busones.

Dionisi. in ce-
lestio hierar.
cap. 3. parte 2^a.
tertia Chrisost.
1^a. expos in
Matth. homil.
72.

Durāt in rati-
onali divinorū.
lib. 4. cap. 1.

Off the crede.

Chrisost. hom. 61. ad populū. Antioch. The crede is ordeyned to be seied only of y^e cōmunicantes, because dionisius & chrisostomes & Basill in there liturgies saye, y^t y^e learners were shutt out, or y^e crede was saied. Because it is y^e prayer of y^e faithfull onely, wich were but y^e cōmunicantes. ffor y^t they wich did not receave were taken for y^t tyme as not faith full. Therfore Chrisostome sayth y^t they wich doo not receave, be as men doying penance for there syñe.

Off praynge for y^e deade in y^e cōmunion.

The praynge for y^e deade is not now vsed in y^e cōmunion, because it doeth seme to make for y^e sacrifice of y^e deade and also, because (as it was vsed in y^e first booke) it maketh sōme of y^e faithfull to be in heaven & to nede no mercie, & some of them to be in an other place, & to lacke helpe and mercye, As though they were not all alike redemed and brought to heaven by Christs merites, but some deserved it (as it is saied of martyrs) & some, for lacke of such perfittes, were in purgatorie, (as it is spoken of y^e meane sorte) but thus to praye for y^e dead in y^e cōmunion was not used in Christ ¶ his apostles tyme, nor in Justins tyme who speakynge of y^e maner of vsing y^e cōmunion in his tyme reporteth not this. So y^t I may here well saye with

2^a. apolog. pro
Christ. Tertul.
contra prapen
1. lib. 4. contra
marpoē.

Tertulian, That is true, wich is first, that is false, wich is after That is true wich is first, y^t is first, wich is frō begynnyng, y^t is frō begynnyng, wich is frō y^e apostles.

Off y^e prayer in y^e first booke for cōservatiō.

O m̄ciful fath^r etc.

This prayer is to be dislyked for two causes, The first, because it is taken to be so nedefull for y^e conservation, y^t y^e cōservatiō is not thought to be without it. Wich is not true. ffor petition is no part of conservation because Christ in ordeynynge y^e sacrament made no petition, but a thankesgyvinge, It is written when he had gyven thanks, & not when he had asked, wich Christ wold have spoken, & y^e evangelistes have writ-
 ten, if it had been nedefull, as it is mistaken, And
 though Marke saith y^t Christ blessed, when he tooke
 bread, yet he meaneth by blessed, gave thanks, or els
 he wold have saied also he gave thanks, as he saied
 he blessed, if he had ment thereby divers thinges. And
 speakynge of y^e cuppe he wold have saied Christ bless-
 ed, when he tooke y^e cuppe, & as he saith, he gave
 thanks, if gave thanks & blessed were not all one, or
 els Christ shuld be thought to have consecrated y^e
 bread & not y^e wyne, bycause in consecratynge y^e bread
 he saied blessed, & in consecratynge y^e wyne he left it
 out, yea by Matthew Luke & Poule he shuld neither
 have consecrated y^e one nor y^e other, for y^t they reporte
 not y^t he blessed. Gregory wryteth to y^e bishop of
 Syracuse y^t y^e apostles vsed onelye y^e lordes prayer at y^e
 cōmunion, & none other & semeth to be displeased y^t it
 is not there still so vsed, but in stede thereof y^e canon
 wich Scolasticus made Therefore in y^t, he wold y^e lordes
 prayer to be vsed at y^e makynge of y^e cōmuniō wich
 makethe nothiḡ for y^e consecratynge thereof & not
 Scolasticus' prayer, wich prayeth for ye cōsecration of
 y^e same, it must nedes be y^t he thought y^e cōmunion
 not to be made by invocation. Chrisostōm sayth y^t this
 sacramēt is made by y^e wordes y^t Christ ones spoke, as
 every thiḡ is *genered* by y^e wordes of god y^t he ones
 spoke, encrease & fill y^e earth. Bessarion saith y^t y^e

Matth. 26.

Mark 14.

Luc. 22.

1 Cor. 11.

Lib 6. eptarū
epta 63.

De perdit. Jude
homil. 30.

libro de preci-
bus euchariste

2^a. apologia pro
christianis lib. 4
cap. 34.

Luc. 22.
Matth. 26.

consecratiō standeth on christis ordeynāce & his wordes
& not of y^e prayer of y^e preist, & y^t for three causes The
first because y^e preist maye praye without faith, with
.... wich his prayer is not harde. The second, be-
cause y^e prayer is not all one in all contrees, y^e thirde
because baptisme is with out prayer. Justine in show-
ynge how y^e cōmunion was celebrated in his tyme
maketh no mentiō of invocation no more doth Irenee.
The secōd cause, why y^e forsaied prayer is to refused is,
for y^t it prayeth y^t y^e bread & wyne may be Christis
body & blude, wich maketh for y^e popishe transub-
stantiō wich is a doctrine, y^t hath caused mich ido-
latrie. And though y^e doctors so speake, yet we must
speake otherwise, because we take them otherwise then
they ment, or wold be taken. ffor when there meanynge
is corrupted, then ther wordes must be expōded. In
one place it is saied this is y^e new testamēt in my blude,
& in an other place this is my blude of y^e new testa-
ment here Christis wordes be diverslie reported, y^t we
shuld expōde them, when they be mistaken. And
both he & his apostles alledge y^e old testamēt not after
y^e letter, but after y^e meanynge.

Off Receavinge y^e sacramētes in our handes.

Luc. 22.
Consilio 6.
Constantinop.
cap. 101.
Theodoret. lib.
4. cap. 31.
tripartit historie
Austē.

Christ gave y^e sacramēt into y^e handes of his apostles
divide it saith he amonge yowre selves. It was decreed
y^t f^e shuld be excommunicated wich did suffer any man to
take it with any thinge savinge with his handes (as
then they made instrumentes to receive it with all
Ambrose thus speaketh to Theodiosius y^e emperour how
wilt thow with suche hands receive y^e body of Christ.
If we be ashamed saith Austene & afrayed to tuche y^e
sacramēt with foule handes, mich more we ought to
feare to take it with an vncleane solle.

Off receavyng standinge or knelinge.

Justine saith we shuld rather stande then knele when we praye on y^e sondaye because it is a signe of resurrection & writeth y^t Irenee saith it is a custome wich came frō y^e apostles. And Austen thus writeth, we pray standinge, wich is a signe of resurrection therefore on every sonday it is observed at y^e aultare. It is in plaine wordes in y^e last chapter of y^e last booke (wich Gaguens a frenche man hath putt to Tertulians workes as his) y^t christes body is receaved standinge. Though this is y^e old vse of y^e church to cōmunicate standinge, yet because it is taken of some by it selve to be syñe to receave knelinge, whereas of it selve it is lawfull, it is leftt indifferent to every man choise to folow y^e one waye, or y^e other, to teach men y^t is lawfull to receave either standinge or knelinge. Thus (as I thinke) I have showed good causes why y^e service is set furth in such sort as it is. God for his mercie in Christ, cause y^e parliament with one voice to enacte it, & y^e realm with true harte to vse it.

de tēpor 244.
tomo 10.
Justine questio
115. ad ortho-
dopos.
Austē epta ad
Januarin 118.

APPENDIX V.

The first Proposition upon which the Papists and Protestants disputed in Westminster Abbey. With the Arguments which the Reformed Divines made upon it.

It is against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Primitive Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments.

By these words (*the Word*) we mean only the written word of God, or Canonical Scriptures.

Ex. MS. Col.
C. C. Cantab.

And by *the Custom of the Primitive Church*, we mean

the order most generally used in the Church for the space of five hundred years after Christ; in which times lived the most notable Fathers, as Justin, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

This assertion, above written, hath two parts.

First, That the use of a tongue not understood of the people, in Common Prayers of the Church, or in the Administration of the Sacraments, is against God's Word.

The second, That the same is against the use of the Primitive Church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter; in the which chapter St. Paul intreateth of this matter, *ex professo*, purposely: and although some do cavil, that St. Paul speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching; yet it is most evident, to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other publick actions, which require any speech in the church or congregation.

For of praying, he saith *I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; I will sing with the spirit; and I will sing with my mind.* And of thanksgiving, (which is a kind of prayer) *Thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified; and how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest?* And in the end, ascending from particulars to universals, concludeth, *That all things ought to be done to edification.*

Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul,

and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies, which shall follow afterwards.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul, we gather these reasons following.

1. All things done in the church, or congregation, ought to be so done, as they may edify the same.

But the use of an unknown tongue in publick prayer, or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation ;

Therefore the use of an unknown tongue in publick prayer, or administration of the sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The first part of this reason, is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be *done to edification*.

The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First, By this similitude ; *If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battel?* Even so likewise, when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward, in the same chapter, he saith, *How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of thanks : seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.*

These be St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understood, doth not edify.

And therefore both the parts of the reasons thus prov'd by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

2. Secondly; Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted

to the people, that it may be understood. *For, saith Paul, if there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, taceat in ecclesiâ, let him hold his peace in the church.* And therefore the common prayers, and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue, nor interpreted, are against this commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

3. The minister, in praying, or administration of the sacraments, using language not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, an alien, which of St. Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a Christian common prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it, by saying *Amen*; wherein is implied all other words of assent.

But St. Paul affirmeth, That the people cannot declare their assent, in saying *Amen*, except they understand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no Christian common prayer, where the people understandeth not what is said.

5. Paul would not suffer, in his time, a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith: much less is it to be suffered now among Christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle, nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

6. Some will peradventure answer, That to use any kind of tongue in common prayer, or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul is to the contrary; for he commandeth all things to be *done to edification*: he commandeth to keep silence, if there be no interpreter. And in the end of the chapter, he concludeth thus; *If any man be spiritual, or a prophet, let him know, that the things which I write are the commandment of the Lord.* And so, shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue, in

prayer and administration, is against the word and commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwise.

1. In the Old Testament, all things pertaining to the publick prayer, benediction, thanksgiving, or sacrifice, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue.

In the second book of Paraleipomenon, cap. 29. it is written, *That Ezechias commanded the Levites, to praise God with the Psalms of David, and Asaph the prophet*; which doubtless were written in the Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like; who, as Christ saith, must pray *spiritu et veritate*.

2. The final end of our prayer is, (as David saith) *Ut populi conveniant in unum, et annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, et laudes ejus in Hierusalem*.

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue, as they may understand.

Therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

3. The definition of publick prayer, out of the words of St. Paul; *Orabo Spiritu, orabo et mente. Publicè orare, est vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, et ea Spiritu hoc est, linguâ testari*. Common prayer is, to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues. Which definition is approved of by St. Augustine *de Magist. c. i. Nihil opus est (inquit) loquutione, nisi forte ut sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis causâ, ut populus intelligat*.

4. The ministrations of the Lord's last supper, and baptism, are, as it were, sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

But sermons to the people, must be had in such language, as the people may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

5. It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God.

But he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gift of God; for the tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, *de Doct. Christ.* lib. 4. cap. 10. *Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.* There is no cause why we should speak, if they, for whose cause we speak, understand not our speaking.

6. The heathen, and barbarous nations of all countries, and sorts of men, were they never so wild, evermore made their prayers, and sacrifice to their gods, in their own mother-tongue; which is a manifest declaration, that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul, and other reasons out of the Scriptures; joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

Now for the second part of the assertion, which is,
That the use of a strange tongue, in publick prayer, and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the Primitive Church. Which is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed, either of great ignorance, or of wilful malice.

Justinus Apol
2.

For, first of all, Justinus Martyr, describing the order of the Communion in his time, saith thus; *Dei solis urbanorum et rusticorum cæus fiunt, ubi apostolorum, prophetarumque literæ, quoad fieri potest, præleguntur: deinde cessante lectore præpositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans. Post hæc consurgimus omnes, et preces offerimus, quibus finitis, profertur (ut diximus) panis, vinum, et aqua, tum præ-*

positus quantum potest preces offert, et gratiarum actiones; plebs vero Amen accinit. ‘Upon the Sundays assemblies are made both of the citizens and country-men; whereat the writings of the disciples, and of the prophets, are read as much as may be. Afterwards when the reader doth cease, the head-minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together, and offer prayers; which being ended (as we have said), bread, wine, and water, are brought forth; then the head-minister offereth prayers, and thanksgivings, as much as he can, and the people answereth, *Amen.*’

These words of Justin, who lived about 160 years after Christ, considered with their circumstances, declare plainly, That not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the Prayers, and Administration of the Lord’s Supper, were done in a tongue understood.

Both the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom, declare, That in the celebration of the Communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes *Amen*; sometimes, *Lord have mercy upon us*; sometimes, *And with thy Spirit*; and, *We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord*, &c. Which answers they would not have made in due time, if the prayers had not been made in a tongue understood.

And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writeth Basil Epist. 63. in this matter to the clerks of Neocesarea; *Ceterum ad objectum in psalmodiis crimen, quo maxime simplices terrent calumniatores*, &c. ‘As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have this to say, That our custom and usage in all churches, be uniform and agreeable. For in the night, the people with us riseth, goeth to the house of prayer: and in travel, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God; and at the last rising again, go to their songs, or psalmodies, where being divided into two parts, sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter

of the heavenly saying; and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and pluck'd away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow; and so with divers songs and prayers, passing over the night at the dawning of the day, all together, even, as it were with one mouth, and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a new song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.'

'If ye will flee us from henceforth for these things, ye must flee also the Egyptians, and both the Lybians, ye must eschew the Thebians, Palestines, Arabians, the Phenices, the Syrians, and those which dwell beside Euphrates. And to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayings, and common singing of psalms are had in honour.'

These are sufficient to prove, that it is against God's Word, and the use of the Primitive Church, to use a language not understood of the people, in Common Prayer, and Ministration of the Sacraments.

Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept, at the first, into the Church, but also how it is maintained so stiffly at this day; and upon what ground, these that will be thought guides, and pastors of Christ's Church, are so loth to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the Primitive Catholick Church of Christ.

J. Scory.	R. Cox.
D. Whithead,	E. Grindal.
J. Juel.	R. Horn.
J. Almer.	E. Gest.

The God of patience and consolation, give us Grace to be like minded one towards another, in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may, with one mouth, praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

APPENDIX VI

The Protestants Discourse, prepared to have been read in the Public Conference at Westminster, upon the Second Question, viz.; "Every Particular Church hath Authority to institute, change and abrogate Ceremonies and Rites in the Church, so that it tend to Edify."

MSS.
C. C. C. C.
Synodal.

FOR avoiding ambiguity in terms, it is not amiss to declare what is meant by the words of the proposition.

By these words, *every particular church*, we understand every particular kingdom, province, or region, which by order maketh one Christian society or body, according to distinction of countries and orders of the same.

By *ceremonies and rites of the church*, we understand those ceremonies and rites, which neither expressly, neither by necessary deduction or consequence are commanded or forbidden in the Scriptures, but are things of their own nature indifferent. As for example, the form and manner of prayer before and after baptism, and at the administration of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the appointing of times and places for the hearing of God's word, ministration of sacraments, publick prayer, number of holy days, times of fasting, and such like. All which may, by God's word, not only by general councils, but also by particular provinces, regions and societies of Christians, be changed or abrogated, according as the state of the times, places, people, and other circumstances shall require: so that it be done to edify God's people.

Having thus made declaration of the proposition, we will proceed to the proof of the same by God's word, by ancient writers, and by examples.

First, all ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies are things which pertain unto order and decency. But St. Paul
 1 Cor. 14. committed to the particular church of Corinth the disposition of all things which appertain to decency and order. And committing such authority to the particular church of Corinth, he consequently committed it to all other particular churches. For with God there is no respect of persons; and as there is in Christ neither Jew nor Gentile, so there is neither Corinthian, nor Venetian, nor English man, but we all in Christ be one, and have like privilege.

Whereupon it followeth, that St. Paul committeth the disposition of all outward ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies to every particular church.

Let this reason be well weighed, for it is plain and evident. For that ceremonies are things of order and decency, and not things of necessity to salvation, is a thing confessed of all men: for they had their beginning of men, and have been changed, as shall appear at large hereafter.

But things of necessity to salvation are immutable, and have their original from God.

And further, that the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, pertain to the ordering and disposition of such things, the adversaries cannot deny: saving, that whereas St. Paul committeth it in plain terms to the particular church of Corinth, they bind it and restrain it to an universal determination; contrary to St. Paul's meaning, as shall appear by our answers to their reasons hereafter.

Secondly, the principal foundation, whereupon it may be gathered, that any council or assembly hath authority to change or institute rites and ceremonies, stands upon this proof of Christ, *Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* But in a particular church, not only two or three, but also great numbers may be assembled in the name of Christ: therefore a particular church haath promise that Christ will be in the midst of them; and conse-

quently that assembly that hath Christ in the midst of it, and the assistance of his Spirit according to his promises, hath authority to institute, alter and change rites and ceremonies, to the edifying of the people.

Therefore a particular church hath authority to institute, alter and change ceremonies, to the edifying of the people.

Thirdly, the authority of the church, both universal and particular, to institute, abrogate, and to change rites and ceremonies, dependeth only on obedience to Christ and his word, in directing of all things to the edification of faith and charity: *For my sheep hear my voice*, saith John 10. Christ. And again: *You are my friends, if you do those things which I command you*. But particular churches both have, and may obey Christ and his word, in directing all things to the edifying of faith and charity, as shall appear by divers examples hereafter: and therefore particular churches have authority to institute and change rites and ceremonies.

Fourthly, furthermore it is manifest. that ceremonies although they were profitable at the first, may grow by continuance to abuse, and be hurtful; as the watching of men and women together in the night at the graves of martyrs, which St. Hierom did so highly commend, at length was tried to be an occasion of much disorder and dissolute life.

Now if every particular church had not authority to abrogate such ceremonies being hurtful, then should it follow, that Christ, who is the head not only of the universal church, but also of every particular church, had left the same church destitute of necessary remedies to redress vice and sin.

For as for the general councils, they come together but seldom. It was more than three hundred years after Christ e're the Nicene council was called, which was the first general council after the Disciples time. And sith that time, by reason of wars and troubles in the world, sometimes of a long space together no general

councils have been called. So that if particular churches may not remove rites tending to sin or idolatry, a great number of souls might perish before the general councils came together: which were a thing against God's word; for St. Paul saith, God hath given no power to destroy but to edify.

Fifthly, look what authority the seven several pastors and churches in Asia had to reform the things that were amiss among every of them, the same authority hath now the several pastors and churches in all kingdoms and provinces. For Aretas, bishop of Cæsarea, and Primasius, Episcopus Uticensis in Africa, upon the first chapter of the Revelation of St. John do teach, that the seven churches in Asia do represent the multitude of the particular churches scattered over the world. Also, the Son of Man, the universal pastor and head over all churches, was shewed unto John in a vision present in every of the seven golden candlesticks; that is, in every several and particular church, holding in his right hand all and every the seven stars: that is, governing and defending all and every angel, messenger, and pastor of the several churches.

But every of the said seven pastors in Asia had authority to reform all things that were amiss among them, as manifestly appears by the seven several epistles, which Christ commanded John to write and to send unto them. Therefore every particular pastor and church, in all kingdoms and provinces, hath authority to reform such things as be amiss among them.

Sixthly, if a particular church were bound to retain and exercise, and might not abrogate and remove evil and hurtful rites and ceremonies, instituted by men; then were the same church also bound to obey man more than God: who hath commanded by his apostle St. Paul, that all things should be done in the church to edify. But no particular church is bound to obey man more than God; therefore a particular church is not bound to retain, but may remove hurtful ceremonies instituted by men.

These few reasons we have brought out of the Scriptures, not because we have no more to alledge, but partly because we thought any one saying of Christ sufficient to persuade any Christian man; and partly, for that we know many men now a days stay themselves chiefly upon the decrees of old councils, and the writings and judgments of doctors and fathers: and forasmuch as our adversaries will stand most upon those grounds, we have thought it good to match them with their own weapons, and in that field wherein they think themselves best appointed. Wherefore, the rest of our process shall stand upon the authority of the doctors, and upon the examples and practice of antient churches. But first, we will alledge a natural reason or two, and then come to the authority of the doctors, and examples.

That the proposition is true very natural reason would suffice a man that would be ruled by reason: but reason would that things should be restored by like order as they fell in decay. But it is not like that any ceremony being not wicked of itself, can grow to corruption and abuse in all places throughout the world at one time, but must of force have both his beginning and his proceeding, and so at length overwhelm the whole. Wherefore, as the corruption is first particular, so must there also be first a particular redress.

Yea, and if the abuse happen to be so great that it over-run the whole body of the church, even very nature would us to do as the good husband is wont to do. The good husband, saith St. Augustin, if he see his corn-field overgrown with weeds, goeth not about by and by to weed out altogether, but beginning in one corner first, and so proceedeth to the whole.

But men perhaps will say, that the ceremonies of the holy church are sanctified and privileged in such sort, that they cannot be abused. But you must understand, that as the nature of man is mutable and corrupt, even so all ordinances devised by men are subject to mutability, and ready to receive corruption. And therefore

albeit they were well, and upon some godly use received at the beginning, yet afterwards by little and little they fall to abuse.

The brazen serpent was set up by Moses for the people to behold, that they might receive health. Afterwards it was abused to idolatry. And therefore the good king Ezekias pulled it down and beat it to powder. And so ceremonies sometimes are taken for things necessary to the worshipping of God ; and of such Christ saith, *Frustra me colunt, docentes doctrinas, præcepta hominum.* And again, he warneth his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees.

Sometimes they grow to such a number that the multitude of them is intolerable. And therefore St. Augustin, in his time, which was more than eleven hundred years ago, complaineth to his friend Januarius, *Omnia, inquit, sunt plena humanis præsumptionibus ; All, saith he, is now full of men's presumptions.* And he saith further, *That the Jews being under the law, and in servitude of ceremonies, were in far better case than the Christians of his time.* And the reason is, *Quia etsi illi tempus libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis præsumptionibus servierint.* This is St. Augustin's reason, for the which he thinketh that the Christians in his time were in worse taking for the bondage of ceremonies than ever were the Jews under shadow of the law. And we be such if you mark it well ; for, saith he, notwithstanding the Jews knew not the time of liberty, yet they were captives, not as we are to *men's presumptions*, (for so he calleth the inordinate number of ceremonies devised by men) but unto the law of God.

Sometimes they are idle and dumb, and teach nothing, and are, as I might say, signs without signification. And such are the most part of the ceremonies which now so stiffly are defended. For the most part of them, they are such as I will not say, the poor laymen, or your ignorant priests, but, if we may be so bold to speak it, you yourselves are not able to give any reason for them.

And sometimes they are devised only for filthy lucre, under a shew of holiness, to get money. And whether this have been practised any time heretofore, we remit the matter to any indifferent judge.

These many ways may ceremonies be abused. First, if they be taken as things pertaining to the worshipping of God. Next, if they grow to an inordinate number. Thirdly, if they teach nothing, nor no man can have understanding of them. And to conclude, if they be invented for lucre sake, to get money. Now ceremonies thus used lack their soul, as I might say, and are become dead. And therefore there remaineth no more, but that they be had out of the way, and buried.

There is as great a difference between a particular member of a general council and the council, as between a particular church and a general council. But in a general council a truth hath been revealed to a particular member, for the edification of the church, which was hid from the whole council. Unto the which truth and persuasion of the particular member, the whole council gave place ; as appeareth in the council of Nice ; whereas was revealed unto Paphnutius that which was hid from all the rest. Unto whose persuasion, notwithstanding that he was but one particular man, the whole council gave place, because they perceived it to be for the edification of the church. Therefore the truth of God, whereby things may be instituted, abrogated, or changed, for the edification of the church, may be sometimes revealed unto particular churches, which are hid from general councils.

The apostles successors had the same authority that the apostles had. For that the adversaries grant ; else under what colour drive they men to obey the pope and his decrees ? But all bishops be the apostles successors, and have like power, as appeareth by St. Hierom, which saith, *Omnes episcopos apostolorum successores esse* : and Hierad Evagr. by Cyprian, who affirmeth that each one had the like authority : *Hoc utiq ; inquit, erant, ceteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, & honoris & potestatis.*

Therefore all bishops have the same authority, which is, to dispose things to edification ; as Paul saith, *Cætera, cum venero, disponam*, i. e. *The rest will I set in order when I come.*

And that the very particular churches had this liberty to retain or to remove ceremonies, as it may seem good for them, it may appear by an infinite number of examples, and in manner by the continual course of the old church. For thus writeth Irenæus of the order of the Lenten fast in his time, as it is reported by Eusebius : *Neq ; de die tantum disceptatio est, &c. Neither do they differ only about the day, but also about the manner of their fasting. For some think they should fast one day, some two days, and some more. Some reckon their day of twenty-four hours long, accounting altogether the hours of day and night. By this it appeareth, that notwithstanding there was an order taken for fasting, yet was it lawful for men to receive it or leave it, as they listed ; and that without breach of charity. For Irenæus straightway addeth these words, Nihilò tamen minus, &c. Notwithstanding, saith Irenæus (an old father, that lived a thousand and four hundred years ago) they kept peace and unity among themselves. And so do we until this day. And the diversity of our fasting setteth forth the more the agreeance of our faith. Likewise was there great diversity in keeping of Easter-day. For the Latins kept it upon one day after the tradition of St. Peter, as they said ; and the churches of Asia kept it on another, after the tradition of Saint John ; yet notwithstanding, agreed in Christian peace and unity.*

Socrates, in his fifth book and 22d chapter of his history, prosecuteth this matter at large. And the chapter were worthy to be recited whole, saving for shortness of time, a portion thereof only shall suffice. *Nusquam igitur apostolus nec ipsa evangelia, &c. Neither the Apostle nor the Gospels themselves do any where lay upon them which come to preaching (of the Gospel he means) the yoke of bondage. But every one in their own countries*

have upon a certain custom, as they would themselves, kept the feast of Easter, and other festival days, that they might cease from labour, and remember the healthful passion (he means, of the Lord); neither hath our Saviour, or his disciples, by any law, commanded this to be observed of us; neither do the Gospels or Apostles threaten unto us any pain or punishment, as Moses law did unto the Jews: but it is written in the Gospels only, after the manner of an history, in the reprehension of the Jews, because they committed murder on the festival days, and because Christ suffered in the time of sweet-bread. Wherefore the scope of the Apostle was not to make laws for holy days, but to bring in good life and godliness. But it seemeth unto me likewise, as many other things in every place grew unto a custom, even so also did the feast of Easter. Because none of the Apostles, as I have said, decreed any thing of the matter. That certain thing, even from the beginning, began to be observed in every place rather by custom than by law, the matter itself declareth. As in Asia the Less, many after the old custom contemning the Sabbath, observed the fourteenth day. And they thus doing, did never strive with them which did keep the feast of Easter otherwise, until Victor, bishop of Rome, being too earnest, decreed, that the Quartodecimans should be excommunicate. For the which deed, Irenæus, being bishop of Lyons in France, wrote a sharp epistle unto Victor, wherein he both reprehendeth his earnestness, and also declareth that none of them which in old time did diversly celebrate the feast of Easter, were by any means separated from communion. And that Polycarpus, bishop of Smyrna (which in conclusion, suffered martyrdom under Gordianus) did not eschew the communion of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, nor did for the festival sake fall out with him; although he, according to the custom of Eucharius, bishop of Smyrna, did celebrate Easter the fourteenth day, as Eusebius saith in the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical History.

And a little after: *Romani namq; tres ante Pasca Septimanas, &c.* “For the Romans do fast three weeks

together before Easter, except the Saturday and the Sunday. The Illyrici, all Greece, and they of Alexandria, do fast their fast six weeks before Easter, and call it Quadragesimam, forty days fast, or Lent. But it is a marvel to me, how these men, differing in the number of days, do call it by one name for forty days fast. A man shall find some, which not only dissent about number of days, but also do not retain one kind of abstinence. For some do utterly abstain from things that have life. Some, of those things which have life, eat only fishes, some, besides fishes, eat also birds, and say, after Moses, they come of the waters. Some abstain both from berries and eggs, some do eat only dry bread, some not that: some there be, which fasting to the ninth hour do use divers meats: in divers nations they fast diversly. Of which there be innumerable causes. And because no man is able to shew any written commandment of this matter, it is plain the apostles have left it free to every man's judgment and will, lest any should do a good thing either of fear or necessity. Such is the diversity of fasts through the churches: and about the communion is a much like diversity." And so the author proceedeth in shewing certain diversities about the ministration of the communion, baptism, marriage, and other ecclesiastical observances.

Again, St. Augustin writeth unto Januarius: *Alii quotidie communicant, &c.* "Some, saith St. Augustin, receive the communion of the body and blood of Christ every day; some others upon certain days. Some there be that miss no day without the oblation; some others communicate only upon the Saturday and Sunday, others only upon the Sunday."

De Jejun. Sabbath. Augustin ad Casulan.

Nunquam ergo ceteri postoli a prandere Christianos, &c. "Did then the other apostles teach the Christians throughout the whole world to dine contrary to Peter? Like as therefore Peter and his fellow disciples lived in concord among themselves, even so let them which fast on the Saturday, and were planted by Peter, and those

which dine on Saturday, and were planted by his fellow disciples, live together in unity and concord."

And a little after, in the same place, *Sic ergo una fides*, &c. "Therefore, let the faith of the universal church, which is there spread abroad as inward in the inward parts be one; although the same unity of faith be kept with divers rites or observations; wherewith in no wise the truth in faith is hindred. For all the beauty of the King's daughter is inward. But those rites which are kept divers, are understood in the garments. Whereupon it is said to her, *Covered round about with variety in the golden edges*, or skirts, *of her garments*. But let that vesture also be so divers in variable rites, that it be not torn in sunder with contentious dissensions."

It followeth in the same place, *Si autem quoniam huic*, &c. "But because I think for my part, I have sufficiently answered this, if thou wilt ask my judgment of this matter, considering this in my mind, I say, that fasting of the evangelists and apostles, and in the whole Testament, (which is called the New Testament) is commanded: but on what days we must not fast, and on what days we must fast, I do not find determined by the commandment of the Lord or the apostles. And by this I judge, that liberty is more apt and convenient than constraint of fasting: although truly not to the obtaining the righteousness which faith obtaineth: wherein consisteth the beauty of the daughter inwardly; but yet to signify the eternal rest, which is the true sabbath."

Non omnes quamvis ejusdem opinionis, &c. "All men, though they were of one faith, yet observed they not in their churches like traditions. Yea, they that had all one faith, yet oft in the observation of usages differed much. Which thing was no hindrance to true godliness." Nicephor. Lib. 12. cap. 34.

Likewise it is noted in the decrees of Pope Stephen, and alledged in Gratian, dist. 31, as followeth, *Aliter se habet orientalium ecclesiarum traditio*, &c. "The tradition of the east church is far otherwise than the tradition

of this holy church of Rome. For there priests, deacons, and sub-deacons are married: but in this church, none from a sub-deacon unto a bishop hath license to marry a wife. And here is to be marked, that Pope Stephen took not the single life of priests in the Latin church, as a thing commanded by God, but only as a tradition, and such a tradition as the Grecians lately received."

Quæstio Augustini ad Gregorium fuit ista, cum una sit fides, cur sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines? & aliter consuetudo missarum in S. Romana ecclesia, atq; aliter in Galliarum ecclesiis tenetur? Cui Gregorius respondit, 12 dist. cap. Novit. Novit fraternitas tua, &c. "Your brotherhood knoweth the custom of the church of Rome, wherein you have been trained up. But this way pleaseth me well, that if you find any thing, whether it be in the church of Rome, or in the church of France, or else in any other church, that may more please God, that you diligently chuse the same. And forasmuch as the church of England is new in constitution and in ceremonies, that you pour into it the best ordinances that you can gather of many others. For we may not love the things for the places, but the places for the things. Wherefore, gather you out of every church such things as be godly, religious, and right; and the same knit up as it were in a bundle, cause you to be put and to be brought in use in the church of England."

Here we may note that Gregory being then bishop of Rome, would not drive other churches to the observation of the ceremonies and rites of Rome: but suffered each nation to retain and keep such orders as should be most convenient for them.

Yea, Sozomenus writeth, in his seventh book, *Eadem Ceremoniæ non possunt*, &c. "One kind of ceremonies cannot be found in every church."

And moreover, Socrates writeth in his fifth book, *Non inveniuntur*, &c. "You cannot find two churches, saith Socrates, (writing of the order of the church in his time,) that in rites and ceremonies agree together."

Likewise Theodoretus, upon the 14th chap. to the Romans, intreating of these words, *Let every man abound in his own sense*, or judgment, writeth as followeth, *Non enim hoc posuit generaliter, &c.* “He hath not put this generally, nor yet commandeth he to judge thus of God’s decrees. For he doth accurse them that go about to teach any thing contrary unto the truth: *If any man preach unto you any other doctrine than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* And therefore only of meats he left to every man freedom of his own mind. For this custom remaineth in the churches until this day: and one chuseth abstinence, and another eateth all kinds of meat, without scruple of conscience. And neither this man judgeth that man, nor the one reproveth the other, but the law of concord and charity doth make them notable.”

And all this diversity rose of that, that it was lawful for every particular church either to receive or to leave such ordinances as were devised and thought good by other churches. For if all places had been bound to one order, then could never have been such diversity.

Now of this may we thus conclude, that church that hath liberty, whether it will receive a ceremony or no at the first, may by the same liberty afterwards remove it, when it shall be thought good. Yea, and a great deal more reasonable it is to remove a ceremony when it is corrupt and abused, than at the first not to receive it, when it is incorrupted and judged profitable. For as St. Augustin writ to Januarius, *Quod non est contra fidem, &c.*; that is, *Whatsoever is not against faith and good manners, is to be taken as a thing indifferent.* Now if it be to be taken for a thing indifferent to keep or to refuse, when it is best, much more reason it is to refuse, when it is corrupt and grown out of kind.

For any thing that cannot necessarily be gathered out of the word of God, may be changed, as St. Cyprian writeth to Pompeius; *Nihil innovetur, inquit, quod traditum.* Oh! said the adversary to St. Cyprian, nothing that is once

delivered us, may be altered. St. Cyprian makes answer, "*Unde est, ista traditio?* May it not be changed, said St. Cyprian? Wherefore, from whence came this tradition? Came it from the authority of the Lord and Gospel, or from the commandments and writings of the disciples?" As if he should say, if it came from the Epistles of the Apostles, or the Gospels, then it may not be changed; if it came out of the decrees of men, it may. And in another place, he saith, *Non est absurdum*, &c. "It is not against reason, that such things as have been received be changed for the better."

For such is the nature of ceremonies, that as it is sometimes profitable to receive them, so sometimes profitable to put them away. And here we have to shew you the wise answer of a gentleman and counsellor of the city of Athens, named Theramenes. The Lacedæmonians, after they had given the Athenians a great overthrow in the field, commanded them to pull down the walls of the town, otherwise they threatned them utter undoing. When this matter came to deliberation in the council-house of Athens, Theramenes gave counsel that the walls should be pulled down. Straightway there stood up another gentleman, And will you, said he, give your assent to the pulling down of the walls that were builded up by the counsel of that worthy man and great captain, Themistocles? Yea, said Theramenes. For Themistocles caused the walls to be builded for the safeguard of the city; and for the safeguard of the same city, I give counsel to throw them down. Even so we may answer by ceremonies: they were brought in at first for to profit the church, but after they be once corrupted, and do not that office for which they were iuvented, for the profit of the same church they must be removed. And if this be true of such ceremonies, which at the first were indifferent, much more it is to be thought of such ceremonies that were never good nor indifferent, but were brought in, in the corrupt state of the church.

And therefore St. Augustin hath a marvellous good

saying, writing, *Ad Marcellinum*, cap 5. *Non itaq; verum est, quod dicitur*, &c. "It is not true, that some men say, that such a thing as is once well done, may in no wise be altered. For after the cause or occasion of time is changed, good reason requireth that that be changed, which otherwise before was well done. That whereas they say, it were not well to have it changed; contrary-wise the truth saith, it were not well, but it should be changed. For then shall both be well, if that for the diversity of time they shall be divers."

Thus much for proofs out of the Scripture and antient writers. Now remains to shew the same by example.

Basilus, being a bishop, took upon him to devise a *Examples*. several form of prayers and ceremonies, to be used about the administration of the communion; and by the consent of the church practised the same, without any authority of general council. Chrysostom also did the like; so that it beareth his name until this day, and is called *Liturgia Chrysostomi*. If particular bishops had authority to vary from other churches, and to institute rites and ceremonies about the administration of the holy communion, which be ceremonies of most weight, and most in controversy at this day: how unreasonable is it to deny the like authority to a whole kingdom or province, to the ordinary power and learned of the same?

Furthermore, the church of the Æthiopians, called Presbyter Johannes Land, have at this day their own ceremonies, and that in the vulgar tongue.

Those churches that remain yet in the east parts differ, and always have done, from the west churches in rites and ceremonies.

Yea, and the west churches themselves vary one from another.

There were in Gregory's time three canons or orders to minister the holy communion; the canon of Ambrose, the canon of Scholasticus, and the canon of Gregory.

At Rome, every Saturday was fasting day. At Milan, St. Ambrose, and the whole church kept it no fasting

day. And both St. Augustin and his mother, by St. Ambrose's advice, when they came to Milan, did not fast Saturdays.

So that it may be reasonably gathered, that the old council thought it a thing commodious for the church to have variety in ceremonies, and to leave their churches at their liberty to reform them when they grew to abuse. Otherwise they would have decreed, that all churches should have had like and the same ceremonies and rites; which they never did.

Therefore such uniformity of rites and ceremonies as now is seen in the Popish churches, was not in the church when it was most pure, but was brought in after, when the bishop of Rome had aspired to the unjust primacy: and so have been continued rather for a public recognition of their subjection to the monarchy of the see of Rome, than for any edification.

For it is more profit for the church to have some diversity of ceremonies in divers places, than to have all one, for these causes.

Reasons. First, that the liberty of the church may remain; that in these indifferent things every particular church may *abundare in suo sensu*; *abound in its own sense*, as St. Paul writeth.

Secondarily, that ceremonies be not too much esteemed of the simple, and so grow to be made equal with God's word. As experience declareth, that great numbers make more conscience of breach of any outward ceremony than of one of God's commandments. Such affection is termed of some men devotion. But St. Augustin calleth such offence, conceived upon such alteration of ceremonies, superstition.

But to proceed with more examples. Ambrose, according to the example of Athanasius, who did the like at Alexandria, did first institute the rite or ceremony of singing psalms at Milan, as St. Augustin reporteth in his Confessions.

But where authority is to institute, there is authority

to abrogate. That is true, will some say, when it is made by his own authority. Nay also, when it is established by a more general consent, if the practice declare it hurtful, as by the examples following.

Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, did abrogate and More examples.
remove the office of the penitentiary and auricular confession, which was a constitution almost generally received, and remained still at Rome, notwithstanding the abrogation of it. And that he did well in it may be proved by two reasons.

1. That Sozomenus writing the history, saith, that *ferè omnes episcopi eum sunt secuti ; almost all the bishops followed his example.* Where it is to be noted by the way, that particular reformatiions do much good, and provoke others to follow.

2. The second reason is, that St. John Chrysostom succeeding Nectarius, did not restore that right of confession again: for it remained abrogated in Sozomenus's days, who lived after Chrysostom. And it is not to be thought but Chrysostom would have restored it, if it had been unorderly removed. So that this example of Nectarius, and the particular church of Constantinople, abrogating a general custom upon just causes of abuse, approved by the imitation of so many bishops, and especially of the notable father St. John Chrysostom his successor, is a most plain declaration, that particular churches may abrogate rites and ceremonies, although they have been instituted by a general authority.

Likewise in St. Augustin's time, as appeareth in his Lib. 6. cap. 2.
Confessions, there was an ordinance in Africk and elsewhere, that meat, bread, and wine should be brought to the place of meetings at the memory of martyrs. Which ordinance St. Ambrose did abrogate; and the reason is there declared in these words: *Nè ulla occasio ingurgitandi daretur ; lest any occasion should be given to drunkards to overcharge themselves with drink:* and also, because that observance was most likely to the superstition

of the heathen, who kept *parentalia*, *burial feasts* for their dead parents.

Here beside that Ambrose, one man abrogated a common rite, let this also be marked, that the common reason used of men now a days took no place with this antient father, which is, take away the abuse and let the thing remain. By St. Ambrose took away the abuse by removing the thing.

Moreover, the common watchings or *wakes* of men and women at the martyrs graves, which St. Hierom so highly commends, and doth most sharply inveigh against Vigilantius, who wrote against the said wakes, calling Vigilantius his assertion an heresy, was afterwards abrogated and rejected. And of such kind of wakes there is a canon in a particular council holden in Spain, called Concilium Elibertinum, in the 35th chap. with these words, *Placuit prohiberi ne faminæ in Cæmeterio, pervigilent, &c.* "It hath pleased us to forbid that women should wake the night through in the burial place; because that oftentimes under pretence of prayer, hainous offences be secretly committed."

Moreover, the late experience within this our country doth declare that the abrogation of many ceremonies established by general authority, is lawful and profitable. For in the time of king Henry VIII. of famous memory, many superstitious observations and idolatrous rites were abolished; and that by the consent of many of them which now are, and of late have been, adversaries; as pilgrimages, stations, pardons, many superstitious opinions of purgatory, holy water, of masses for cattle, and *Scala Cæli*, innumerable lyes out of the church legends, of feigned miracles and saints lives. All which things were once established by Catholic authority, as they term it, and in other regions are yet maintained under the same colour, and the gainsayers accounted by the see of Rome and her patrons, heretics. Which things are so gross, that they neded no confutation.

And in this late time as appeareth, they are ashamed

to restore the same. Wherefore it is no inconvenience that unprofitable and superstitious rites be abrogated and removed by the authority of a particular church.

And because we are entered into this matter it shall not be amiss to make rehearsals of a few, among a great many, of their vain superstitious fables, which have been in times past propounded to the people for wholesome doctrine.

In the Festival (a book as it is in the prologue gathered out of *Legenda aurea*, for curates that lack books and cunning) in the sermon of Corpus Christi day, it is written, that a man hath nine commodities by hearing of mass. One is, that he shall not that day lose his sight. Another, all idle oaths that day shall be forgiven him. Another, he shall die no sudden death. Another, so long as he heareth mass he shall not wax old, and his good angel reckons his steps to and fro the church, to his salvation. It were too long to reckon them all, let this be enough for a tast.

In the said book, in the sermon of All Souls day, there is a narration of a priest which was suspended of his bishop, because he could say none other mass but mass of Requiem.* On a day the dead bodies rose, and came about the bishop for taking away their chaplain from them. And so he was restored to his office. * Which was for the dead.

In the sermon on Candlemas day, there is also an history of a woman, which never did good deed, but only that she had continually kept a candle before our lady: after her death, by the appointment of our lady, a candle was kept burning before her in hell, which the devils could not abide; and by reason thereof she was restored to life, and became a good woman.

What occasion of dissolute life and sin may be ministered to simple people by these and an infinite number of such like fables, it is easy to perceive.

But the answer will be, these books were never allowed by public authority. Well, these books were openly printed, and within memory of man commonly credited,

and yet be of some. And in these late days, while there hath been such preaching against reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, who hath heard any great invection against such books? And strait inquisition hath been of English Bibles and Testaments to be burned; whether the like diligence hath been used for abolishing these, let all men judge.

But to return again to the proofs by antient examples that particular churches may alter and institute ceremonies.

In all time there hath been provincial councils holden. Which were in vain, if they might not allow the good and reject the evil. Particular and provincial councils have always had authority to reject and condemn wicked doctrine; and by the means many heresies have been suppressed without general councils.

In the provincial council of Gangra, divers wicked opinions against the Christian liberty for marriage, for eating of meats, for bondmen that would not obey their masters under pretence of Christian religion, were condemned.

The heresy of Pelagius was condemned in divers provincial synods in Africk, before it was condemned by any general council. But doctrine is a matter hath more weight than rites and ceremonies. And so provincial synods having authority of the more, have also of the less.

And to be short, three hundred years after the Disciples time, there was no general councils, and the church well governed all that time, every province ruling their own churches according to the Scriptures, only with the help of provincial councils.

The fathers of the sixth council of Carthage, writing to the bishop of Rome, who would have intermeddled with their matters in Africk, have a notable sentence for this purpose. "The council of Nice, say they, perceived most justly and wisely, that all controversies ought to be ended there where they first began, and the grace

of the Holy Ghost shall not be wanting to any particular province. The words be these: *Prudentissimè enim justissimèq; viderunt, quæcunq; negotia in suis locis ubi orta sunt finienda; nec unicuiq; provinciæ gratiam S. Spiritus defuturam.*

Moreover, testimonies of the Scriptures and doctors may be brought, and many more examples of the antient church for further confirmation hereof. But for this time we have thought this sufficient. Hereafter as cause shall be moved, we shall have occasion to say more. In the mean season by these proofs that we have here shortly alledged, we doubt not but it may appear to the indifferent hearer, that a particular church hath authority to make or change, and remove and abolish ceremonies in such sort as may be most for the edification of God's people.

We are not ignorant what may be objected against this Objections. assertion. As namely, concerning the authority of general councils. But because that matter requireth a long tract, we will in our answer to the reasons on the other part, by God's grace, declare by sufficient authority, in what points general councils (whose authority we acknowledge, with St. Augustin, to be right wholesome in the church) are to be universally holden, and in what points they are not.

Again, where they alledge continuance of time and their possession in the church, let this be for this time shortly answered; they should first prove their things true, and then allege time. For against the eternal truth of God's word, no continuance of time can make prescription; as St. Cyprian saith, *Consuetudo sine veritate est vetustas erroris; custom without truth is an antient error.*

And as for their possession in the church, seeing it is also a long matter, and no orderly kind of disputation, that they should bring in one matter in controversy to prove another, that matter shall be for present referred to this issue; if they be not able to prove that the bishop of Rome is the head of the universal church of Christ, and under his obedience all Christians ought to live, under pain of damnation; and that neither by decrees

of general councils, neither by consent of princes, but by the authority of Scriptures, and by the word of God, (for by that title of God's word, the Pope claimeth his supremacy) if they shall not be able to prove that, I say, which they shall never do, as it hath been often proved in this realm, and elsewhere; then is the authority of their church nothing, and their possession unjust.

These and other objections shall be by God's grace answered more at large when the contrary book shall be exhibited.

The God of peace and consolation give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth praise God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX VII.

*MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College,
Cambridge, No. 104.*

D. S^{mo} p^e a^o 1560. p Edmundū Guest. Epūm
Roffensem.

AGITE penitentiam et credite evangelio Repent saith Christ in the first of Marke and beleve the gospell. Moste honorable and well belowed in our saviour Christ thowgh this sayenge of Christ Repent and beleve the gospell be short in wordes yet it is full of matter ffor it is the some of the whole scripture Because there is nothinge in the olde testament or in the newe but it belongeth either to the lawe or to the gospell. And the lawe properlie teacheth nothing but repentaunce and the gospell properlie nothinge but faith ffor what is godes lawe but either his comaundyng of vertewe or els his forbyddinge of vyce. And what is repentaunce but the leaving of synne and the followynge of godlynes Declina a malo et fac bonum to shone evyll and to doo goode as David saith, ffor whether we take this worde repentaunce for a lothinge and bewaylynge of our synn as it is taken in laten or for a chaungynyge of our mynde and dede frome syne as it is ment in greke or for a tornynge of our selves to godd as it is in hebrew all come to my sayenge ffor no man lotheth and bewayleth his synn no man chaungeth his mynde frome synn no man turneth himselfe vnto god but he leveth synn and foloweth vertew. And as for the gospell what is properlie taught therin but faith Therefore Paule to the Galathians calleth the gospell sermonem or predicationem fidei the word or preachinge of faith So that this scripture repent and beleve the gospell is the some as I said of the whole scripture Therefore who so knoweth it knoweth the some

of the scripture and who so fulfilleth it fulfilleth the content of the scripture. It is a doctrine so perfitte that it teacheth vs all thinges needfull for salvation ffor when Paule shulde depart from Miletus he told the bysshoppes of Ephæsus that he had taught them all thinges that were profitable for them and yet he nameth ther but penitentiam erga deum et fidem in Jesum Christum repentaunce towardes god and faith in Jesus Christ meanyng therby that all thinges which be requyred for vs to be saved by be fully conteyned in repentaunce and faith. It is a matter moste fyt for this tyme ffor in the prymative church such as wer notorius synners as Theophilus saith in his first boke de pascalibus wer put to open penaunce at this tyme and such places of the scripture that made for repentaunce wer ordeyned to be redd in the church to move both them and all other to earnest repentañce. And what place maketh more for repentañce than this that I have in hande repent and beleve the gospell. It is a lesson very meet for vs all present ffor who of vs hath not moste grevouslie synned and yet none of vs repenteth hyselfe of it who hath not harde of Christes gospell and yet none of vs beleveth it as he shuld doo Insomuch that I maye say weſt with Christ if the sone of man shuld come nowe into this worlde he shuld scarce fynde any faith in the earth Wherefore seinge this scripture repent and beleve the gospell is so necessarie and fyt for this honorable audiens I witt by goddes grace and your favor entreate thereof And that I may so doo to goddes glorie and truth and to your edefyenge and myn let vs all pray to god our heavenlie father in Christes name his soñe and our mediator &c. Penitentiam agite et credite evangelio. Repent and beleve the gospell. Here we be comāunded by Christ first to repent and then to beleve. Therfor I will speake firste of repentaunce and after of belefe. No man can repent except he be sory for his synn and amend it Bycause saith Austen to repent. is to-be sory for synn and leve it.

No man can be sory for his synn and amend it without he first knowe his synn. Bycause the sorowe for synn and the amending of the same ryse vpon the knowledge that we have that the dede that we doo is evell and owght not to be done but shoned. No man knoweth his synn but by goddes lawe per legem fit agnitio peccati. We knowe not synn but by the lawe Paule knew not concupiscence to be synne but by the lawe that forbade it. No man knoweth his synn by the lawe onles he first well weig and consider what god comaundeth and forbiddeth by his lawe and then doth compare and examyne his dedes with the lawe. Bycause the knowledg of synn cometh vpon the tryall that we make of our dedes with godes lawe in that therby we fynd our doynges to be ageinst his lawe. Wherevpon it followeth that it right needfull for the furtheraunce of repentaunce. first to shew youe what we be boude to doo by goddes lawe and then to compare and trye our dedes with all that we may repent that which we fynde to be done of vs contrarie to his lawe Christ in Mathew saith whatsoever thinge is comaunded or forbydden by the lawe is comprysed in love And Paule saith that the end of the comaundement meanynge the lawe is *love*. Wherevpon thus wryteth Austen. what soever we doo say and what soever we have said and what soever we shall say either we or they that went before vs or they that shall followe vs all have no other end but love. Bycause the end of comaundement is love Wherefore I will compare our doynges with the love that Christ here speaketh of that when we see that they doo not agree with it that then we may repent vs of them. Jesus thus said to the lawer which asked him what was the greatest comaundement in the lawe. Thoue shall love the lord thy god with all thy hart with all thy sowle with all thy mynde and with all thy powr. This is the first and greatest comaundement And the second is lyke vnto this. Thow shalt love thy neyghbour as thy selfe. On thes tow comaundementes hangeth the whole lawe and

prophetes Loe in expresse wordes Christ saith that the whole lawe standeth in love. In lovinge the lorde god with all our hart solle thought and strenght and in lovinge our neyghbour as our selves. So that who so fullfilleth thes two poyntes of low fulfilleth the whole lawe. and who so breaketh them breaketh the whole lawe as fullie conteyned in thes two articles of low. Wherefore goodd people thes wordes of Christ thou shalt low thy lord thy god with all thy hart with all thy soule with all thy mynde and with all thy power and thy neyghbour as thy selfe. be as a glasse to beholde what we shoulde doo and what we doo that therby seing our dedes not to agree with them. we should amend them and repent them from the bottom of our hart Plato counselleth dronken and angry parsones to behold them selves in a glasse and then they wold leave that filthynes. Socrates geveth the counsell to yonge men to loke in a glasse that perceyving them selves to be bewtyfull they should not defile them selves with synn and if they see themselves to be hard favored they should recompence it with vertue Therefore Senec in his first boke of naturall questions wryteth that tootyng glasses be found to knowe our selves and to rule our lyfes by for the bewtifull to behold ther bewtie and to flie shame and infamie which deface it for the harde favored to behold ther hard favorednes and to amend it with vertue for yong men to see ther yowth to decay and to provyd for that which can not be taken away for old men to see ther age and to leave all pleasur and to remember death to be at hand. Thees good uses of tootyng glasses dyd even the heathen fynd and practise. O that we Christen men and women thus used our tootinge glasses then should we please god and edifie our selves more with tootinge on them then we doo And ther is no glasse so acceptable to god nor so profitable vnto vs as this glasse that Christ speaketh of in biddinge vs to low god with all our power and our neyghbour as our selves. Bycause we see therby what god

doth requyre at our handes and what we kepe or breake in his lawe. Therefore lett vs oft yea alway behold our selves and dedes in this glasse and amend them after it or ells our tootinge in other glasses and bewtyfienge our selves by the same shall be layde to our charge at the last day Thow shalt love the lord thy god with all thy hart with all thy soule with all thy mynd and with all thy strength and thy neyghbour as thy selfe By thes wordes of Christ we learn that what so ever is in vs whether it be reason witt will vnderstandinge appetite seing hearing fealing going or any other power of our soule or bodie it ought to be occupied about the lovinge of god. we wholie and onlie lovinge him and our selves our neyghbour and all thinges in hym and for him. ffor in that god is to be loved with all our hart with all our power what low can ther be left in vs for any thing ells but in god and for god. Bycause he having all our low none can be bestowed vpon any creatur but in him and for him That is the cause that Austen calleth charitie and love a motion or the mynd to love god for him selfe and our selves and neyghbour for god—*Charitatem voco motum animi ad fruendū deo propter seipsū et se et pximo propter deū.* Plato being asked what low was answered it was the lyvinge of the soule in a nother bodie and the dyeng of the soule in her owne bodie; So that we lovinge god as we be comāunded, we lyve onlie and wholie in him and die in our selves and in all things ells as Paule saith it is not I that lyveth but it is Christ that lyveth in me. All our care pleasure and low be in god and we delight not in our selves nor in any creatur els but for the low of god in that we see that our lovinge of our selves of our neyghbour or of any thinge tendeth to the low and pleasure of god. ffor as he which earnestlie and throughlie loveth a woman hath no pleasure in him selfe or in any thinge els withoute her haveinge all his thowght care studie and power bent to pleasure her to do what shee wold have him to doo and to shonne that thinge which he knoweth that

shee is displeased withall Even so if we low god with all our hart soule and power we will kepe his cōmaundementes to the vttermost that we can all our care mynd will and power being occupied aboute the fulfillinge of the same Qui diligit me mandata mea servat. he that loveth me saith Christe kepeth my cōmaundements. Dilectio legem implet. low saith Paule laboreth to fulfill the lawe in all pointes and willinglie breaketh it in no point Therefore Austen biddeth vs low god and then doo what we lyst declaringe therbie that if we lowe god in dede as we ought to doo we will not breake his lawe: ffor in that we breake godes lawe in any point it is bycause we low the thinge for the which we breake his lawe better than we low god him selfe. ffor this is verie trew both by reason and experience that low is the cause why we doo this thinge or that thinge, so that that thing which we lowe best that doo we first. Bycause everie thinge as we lowe so we esteeme it and prefer it And therefore looke for what thinge we kepe not godes lawe that thinge doutles we lowe above god in that we prefer it before god As for example god cōmaundeth that I should not steale but willethe me to get my goods iustlie and when I have so gotten them to bestowe part of them of the poore as I shall see need and as I am able Nowe if I will for all godes cōmandement get my ryches vniustlie and kepe them all to my selfe vncharitable that it is plaine that I set more by my gooddes then I doo by god and low them better than I doo god and his lawe. Ageyn god chargeth me that I shoulde not cōm̃yt adultrie that I should not surfitte in meat and drynke. Nowe if I will play the adulterer if I will play the dronkerd if I will play the glutton though I breake godes lawe therbie then it is certain that I low my pleasoure my lust my bealie more then I doo god. The lyke is to be said of the breaking of all godes cōmaundementes. we breake them bycause we low the thinges that we breake them for better then we lowe god hym selfe. God byddeth vs to low him

with all our hart and power but the covetous man that getteth his goodes wrongfullie that kepeth them to him selfe vnmercifullie havinge all his ioye in gettinge and kepinge his riches and none in well vsing of them loveth not god with all his hart soule and strength nor with the more parte of his harte and power. Bycause he loveth his riches better in that he breaketh godes will for them yea he loveth not god at all bycause he serveth his riches and not god but hateth god bycause he forbiddeth him to serve and low his riches Therefore Christe saith no man can serve two contrarie masters for either he shall low the one and hate the other or els lean to the one and dispise the other. Ye can not serve both god and riches. Wherefore the covetous man hateinge god for the low that he beareth to his riches and so loving them with all his hart soule and power as he should doo god maketh his goodes his god and so committeth habominable idolatrie servinge and lovinge his riches instede of god Therefore Paule calleth a covetous man an idolater a worshipper of a false god. No covetous man which is an idolater saith Paule hath any inheritaunce in the kingdome of god. The rich fermer in Luke that dyd put his ioye and felicitie in his corne made his richese his god. and therfore dyed for it and that for ever. The rich glutton which loved his riches so much that he wold geve nothinge to poore Lazarus made his riches his god and went to hell for it Judas that sold his master Christ for mony made mony his god and is in hell for it. Wherefore youe covetous men which make your goodes your god repent youe of your detestable idolatrie if youe will escape heft dew for it get your goodes trulie by iust dealinge and when youe have so gotten them thanke god for them and help the poore with them. neither vse them nor kepe them otherwyse then god willeth youe And so shall youe love god above your riches and lowe your riches in god and for god Thus dyd Abraham and Job vse and lowe their riches and so must youe use them and love them if you

will please god with them as they dyd. Nowe to them which care not what they saye or doo so that they may get the favor and pleasour of the world so that they may eate drynke and followe ther lust when and how they lyst if I should say unto such that they do make the world and ther bellie ther god they wold deny it vtterlie detest it and forswear it as synn most abomynable sayeng they never honored the world or ther belie as god nor iudge godes creatures and not god and therfore they take them not for ther god In dede I graunt they will thus say but they be not to be beleved in ther owne cause and case therfore I will showe youe what the scripture saith herin Quorū deus venter est whose belie is ther god Here Paule saith expreslie that certein preachers and other persons amongst the Philippians made their bealie ther god not that they praied to ther bealie as god or thowght that ther bealie was god but bycause all ther mynde studie and lowe was aboute the providinge for the pleasur of the bealie which studie care and low should have ben bestowed vpon god as a service onlie dewe vnto god and therfore they be said of Paule to make ther bealie ther god. The same is to be said of the lovers of the world Bycause they seke above all thinges the pleasoure and ioye of the worlde and speake and doo they care not how vngodlie so that they get it therfore they make the world ther god. Thus youe see that what so ever thing we low as we should doo god namlie with all our hart mynd and strength even that we make our god. whether it be riches the world or the bealie or any thing els. Wherefore good people if we will not play the detestable idolaters by making riches the world and our bealie to be our god let vs not low them but in god and for god as ordered of him to serve to his honor and for vs to pleasure the more in god And let vs with aſt moſte hartelie repent that we have vsed and loved them as our god leste if we so do not we be pnyshed most grevouslie both in this

world and in the worlde to come for our idolatrie as tow and twentie thousand Jewes wer as it appereth in exodus. To the wordes of Christe agen If we loved god with all our hart mynd soule and power we wold not take his name in vayne for fear we should displease him therby seyng he hath forbidden it. But who doth not so: ffor doo we not in our dailie talk and that lightlie withoute any cause bluster out oth upon oth swearinge by god by his bodie blood hart sydes naylls and woundes as though our talke were not acceptable to god nor pleasaunte to man withoute an oth what is to teare rent and crucifie god so much as lieth in vs if this be not The Jewes crucified Christ whome they toke for no god and we take him for god and yet crucifie him with our othes. *The Jewes* crucified him but here when he was sent of his father to be crucified and we crucifie him in heaven where he reigneth in glorie not to be served with such vilanie. *The Jewes* crucified him but ons vpon the crosse and we crucifie him dailie yea hourlie with the othes afore said So that our vayne and comon swearinge by god and his members shall be more grevouslie punyshed then the crucifieng of Christ vpon the crosse withoute we repent in tyme. A man that vseth much swearinge shall be filled with wickednes and the plag and vengauce of god shall not depart from his house. Theese be the wordes of the holie scripture heaven and earth saith Christ shall decaie or thes wordes shall not be founde trew and fulfilled wherfore ye comon swearers if youe tender youre ease or health either in this life or in the life to come leave youre idell vayne and dailie swearing: ffor if we shall be condempned for our idell wordes as Christ saith much more shall we be condempned for our idell othes. Kyng Henry the fifte made a lawe in his courte that if he were a duke that dyd sweare he should forfeite for everie tyme xls. to the helpinge of the poore if he were a lorde xxs. if he were a knyght or a esquyre xs. if he were a yoman

iijs. uyd. if he were a page or a lakye to be scourged naked either with a rodd or with a whippe. Wolde god this lawe were now kept not onlie in the courte but also throughoute all Englund ffor more swearing and lesse pūnyshment for yt was ther never Then should the poore be the better holpen swearers well punyshed swearing lesse used and godes name more revered Kynge Phillippe of ffrance and Maximiliane the emperoure punyshed comon swearing with death. Therefore if such swearing shall be suffered vnpunyshed they at the great day shall condemne the slaknes of them which should see vnto it and doe not. As we declare ourē selves not to love god as we should doo by our idell and comōn swearing though it be trew even so much more doo we by oure swearing falslie by god Bycause to sweare is to call god for wytnes and defence of that which we sweare and so when we sweare falslie by god we call him to witnes and defend a lye. Therefore we dishonore god by swearing falslie by him in that we abuse swearing to his dishonore and vntruth which he hath ordeined to his honor and truth being worse then the devill herin which kneleth trembleth and quaketh at the name of god as Paule saith whereas we care not how contemptuouslie and vilanouslie we abuse it and dishonore it. God comāunded him to be stoned to death which blasphemeth his name what is to blaspheme his name if this be not. O that all iudges all officers all quest men which have sworne to speake the truthe and to do after the same wold well consider this then wold they not be so muche forsworne for not so saieng and doyng as I feare me they be. O that all byers and sellers wold well weigh this then they wold not forswear them selves to the deceyt and hurt of their neighbour and dishonore of god as they doo O that all prestes wold earnestlie marke this then wolde they kepe ther othe made to ther prince better then they doo and be more faithfull and obedient to her ma^{tie}. and her lawes then they be On sunday which is the lordes daye our sabbath day how straytlie doth

god comānd vs to serve him and to bestowe it in good workes namlie in comyng to the church in prayeng to god in thanking and praying him in hearing and readinge his worde in receavinge the holie comunyon in geving to the poore in comōninge of vertue restinge frome all worldlie busines and occupieng our selves in all godlines. And we are not worst occupied that day yes trulie ffor either we comē not to the church at all or elle if we doo we comē not to praye to receyve to gyve to learne but to see and to be seene having our myndes then occupied otherwise then in those good things. And all the rest of the day we spend in reavolūg eating drinken playeng daunsyn and in idell wanton talking So that the sabboth day which we should kepe moste holie we kepe it moste vngodlie and serve not god but our lustes then moste of all Thus we can not doo withoute the greate contempt of god and vnkīndnes towards him. ffor seinge he hath lefte syx daies to our vse and hath reserved but one day to him selfe to be served in and yet we will then serve him worst it is a sure profe that we care not for him but for our lust breaking his will to followe it. Socrates in his churche storie writeth that Pambo wept bycause he dyd not studie asmuch to please god as an harlot doth to please Reveft men And will we not wepe and repent that we serve not god as much as we doo our lust God comāunded one that had gathered wood upon the sabboth day to be stoned to death which was a dede that myght have ben well done vpon an other day but we do such workes euery sunday that owght to be done on no day and shall we not be grevouslie punished for it even in this life. Nehemias saith that for the breaking of the sabboth day the Jewes were banyshed and ther cytie destroyed. And god beinge the selfe same god that he was then hatinge the breache of the sabboth day asmuch now as he dyd then can we loke for lesse pūnyshment for the breaking of the sabboth day then they hadd except we repent no trulie repent therfore repent Thus youe see playnlie bycause

we low not god with all our hart with all our soule with all our mynd and power that we breake the cōmaundementes of the first table which be directlie towarde god. Nowe in fewe wordes I will shewe youe howe you breake all the cōmaundementes of the seconde table by not lovinge oure neyghboure as our selves which is the other parte of the glasse that we owght to behold our selves in. Saith Paule thou shalt not cōmyt adulterie thou shalt not kill thou shalt not steale thou shalt not beare fals wytnes thou shalt not covet and if ther be any other cōmaundement that is brefflie comprehended in this saieng thou shalt low thy neyghboure as thy selfe Here Paule sheweth playnlie that the low of our neyghboure containeth all the cōmaundements of the seconde table and that he whiche loveth his neyghboure as him selfe kepeth them all so that if we break them it is for lacke of low towarde our neyghboure. Christ saith what so ever youe wolde that men should do unto youe even so doo vnto them for this is the lawe Alexaunder Severus the emperour had this saieng cōmoulie in his mouth quod tibi non visi fieri alteri ne feceris that which thou woldest not to be done to thy selfe doo it not to an other, which sentence he loved so weill that he caused it to be wryten in his palace and all other open workes. And what is to do to other as we wolde be done vnto and not to doo to other that we wold not have done to ourselves but to love our neighbour as our selves and to serve him as we wold be served our selves So that if we will consider a littell how we low and serve our selves and how we low and serve other we shall easelie perceive whether we lowe our neyghboure as our selves. Who is there but if he were a prince but he wold be honored loved feared obeyed and well reported as a prince shoulde be And if we serve our prince thus then we doo to her as we wolde be done vnto and low hir as we low ourselves wherbie god is pleased and we shall be rewarded. But if we do not thus then we serve not our prince as we wold be served nor low hir as we

low our selves and so god is displeased with it and we shall be punyshed for it. ffor by Poule who so either in thowght worde or dede doth with stand the prince withstandeth god himselfe. And that is the cause that the scripture calleth the prince god dii estis youe be godes because he or she is godes vicegerent occupieng godes rome and office Therefore Moises saith that the murmuringe that the Jewes made ageinst him and Aaron being goddes officers was not ageinst them but ageinst god him selfe And god him selfe saith that the Jewes hadd refused him and not Samuel when they did requyre a King to rule for him Moyse saith that Oore Dathan and Abiron rebelled agenst god in rebelling agenst him and Aaron. *Omnis globus tuus stat contra dominū* all thy company standeth agenst the lorde And the earth opened and swallowed them vp quicke So that it is not withoute iust cawse saide of Salomon my sonn feare god and the Kinge and medele not with them that be seditious men for their destruction shal rise sodenlie God so loweth princes that who so doth curse them or slaunder them even the very byrds of the ayer shall disclose it This was spoken by Salomon the kyng who belyk hadd founde it trew Therefore let us low our prince in thowght worde and dede nothing thinking sayeng or doying that may turne to hyr dishonor prayeng all way for hyr long and prosperus reigne wyshing hyr mat^{ie}. with all aboundaunce of all grace and godlines Jeremy and 2 Poule will that heathen and faithles Princes as Nebugodonosor and Nero should be thus prayed for much more then must we thus pray for our moste christian prince defender of our faith both in tittle and in dede Agen if we lowed our neyghbour as oure selves and did unto him as we wolde be done vnto we would not be angrie with him as we be we would not curse him nor hurte his name his catell lyfe and bodie as we doo we wold not defile his wife his dowghter his mayde as we doo we wold by craft or violence robb hym of his goodes as we doo we wold not belie him and slaunder him as we doo.

Yea we wold not so moch as to wyshe him thees things
 Bycause no man hurteth him selfe either in gooddes
 or in bodie bycause no man robbeth and deceyveth
 him selfe bycause no man slaundereth him selve, by-
 cause no man wold his wyfe his dowghter or his mayd
 to be defiled. bycause no man wold wyshe thees thinges
 to himselfe Thus it is playne that by not loveinge god
 with all our hart soule mynde and power and our
 neyghbour as our selves we breake all the cōmaunde-
 mentes of god The breakinge of one of them and that
 but ons is synn and deserveth death. everlastinge Sti-
 pendiu peccati mors est Therfore the breakinge of all
 and that contynewallie as we doo muste nedes deserve
 thowsand thowsand deathes So that I muste nedes say
 with Jeremy misericordia dñi quod non sumus con-
 sumpti It is by the great mercie of god that we be
 not everie one of vs destroyed and that for ever Ther-
 fore penitentiam agite repent good people repent that
 youe have not loved god and yower neyghbour as ye
 shuld doo nor have not kept goddes cōmaundementes
 as youe be cōmaunded Nisi penitentiam egeritis omnes
 simul peribetis. ffor saith Christ except you repent youe
 shall be destroyed att ffor symplie to synn doth not
 condemn vs for then all men should be condempned
 bycause all men have synned but oure not repentine
 doth damne us Therfore Christ who cam to save all
 men saith he cam to call sinners to repentaunce The
 first sermon that John Baptist made he begann with
 repentaunce Penitentiam agite vite prioris repent youe
 of youre former life. The first sermon that Christ made
 he begann with repentaunce resipescite instat enim
 regnū celorū repente you for the kingdome of heaven
 is at hande. The first thinge that Peter badd them
 doo who asked him what they should doo to be saved
 first repente youe of your synnes and then let everie
 man be baptisede in the name of Jesus for the remission
 of synn And here in oure master Christ first byddeth
 vs repent or we belefe in sayenge repent and belefe the
 gospell So that we muste first repent or we can be

saved. Bycause god wold have no man to perishe as Peter saith but wold have all men to come to repentaunce he calleth vs to repentaunce not onlie by his holie worde but also by all his punyshing of synn through his iustice and by all his deferring of the same by his mercie. When certein had showed vnto Christ the cruel dede of Pilate wherein he had slayne certein men of Galilie and had compelled the rest in ther sacrifices to drynke the blood of them that wer slayne Jesus aunswered and said unto them suppose ye that thees Galileans were greater synners then all the other Galileans bycause they suffered such thinges? I tell youe nay but except youe amend youre lifes and repent you shall all lykwyse peryshe. Here Christe showeth that the Galileans that wer left vnslayne were as greate synners as they were that were slayne and deserved to be kylled for there synnes as well as they dyd and therefore moveth them therbie to repentaunce and amendment of life lest if they doo not they be so served as they were teaching us herbie that all the plagies and calamities of the worlde whether they be comon or pryvate be vnto us all preachinges of repentaunce Bycause that plage that happeneth to some for synn is dew to vs all for synn and shall happen to vs all withoute we repent As goddes vengeaunce and scourge that lighteneth vpon other ought to sture vs to repentaunce So his mercie in deferring and kepinge his plage from vs owght to doo the same accordinge to this seyeng of Poule knowest thou not that the goodnes of god leadeth thee to repentaunce Thus it is playne that god in all sayenges and doynge provoketh vs to repent as a thing verie neadfull for our salvation Wherefore youe that have defended and followed poperie & supatition repent youe of it. youe that have persecuted or hated the truthe repent you of it youe that have beleved and preferred counsailes doctors and custome before the scripture and menns traditions before goddes sacramentes repent youe of it youe that be comon or false swearers repent youe of it youe that be lyers or

slaundersers repent youe of it youe that be oppressours and hurters of youre neyghbours repent youe of it youe that be adulterers repent youe of it you that care not for religion for prayer for gods service repent youe of it and to be shorte repent youe all that have broken gods comaundement in any poynt ffor so longe as oure synn is not repented so longe it is not praied for and so long as it is not praied for so long it is not forgyven and so long as it is not forgyven so long it condempneth vs and being never forgyven it ever condempneth vs saith Christ except yode repent youe shall perishe Therefore Austen saithe that to dye withoute repentaunce is the synn agenst the holie ghost. And as withoute repentaunce we can not be saved so if we repent be oure synns never so great nor so many yet be they forgyven Si impius egerit penitentiam ab omibz peccatis suis vita vivet if the wycked man saith god will repent hym of all his synns he shall lyve Though David hadd comytted both murder and whordome yet bycause he repented god forgave him. Though god was purposed vtterlie to destroye the Nynyvites for there vntollerable synns yet bycause they repented god forgave them. Though Manasses was a King moste wycked in all kynds of idolatry and synn yet bycause he repented god forgave him Though Peter hadd denyed and forsworne his master Christ yet bycause he repented god forgave him Even so god will forgeve vs oure synn be it never so much nor so great if we repent it. repent therfore repent. And here I can not but lament to see the convictes whiche be condempned for heynous fawtes and yet be saved by ther boke to be suffered to lyve withoute open repentaunce of ther notorius fawtes to the maintenaunce of wyckednes and to the slaunder of the church mercie Austen in his fiftie and fourth pystle wrytten to Macedonius sheweth that the prestes did crave pdone for them whome they thought wold amend and when they hadd obteyned it they dyd excomūuncate them from the right of the church vntill a iust tyme they had openlie bewayled ther fawtes

and hadd pleased the church as much with ther open repentaunce as they hadd displeased the church with ther open wyckednes O that oure convictes were thus handled then should the mercie that is shewed them tourne to gods glorie to their salvātion to the prayse of the church and to the feare of such vyces wheras for lacke of suche discipline all is torned to the contrarie The lorde *amend it.* To the wordes of Christ repent and beleve the gospell Here Christ speaketh not in the future tence repent ye hereafter beleve ye the gospell hereafter as though we myght put of oure repenting and belevinge untill another tyme bnt he saith in the present tence repent ye nowe belefe the gospell nowe to teach vs to repent even nowe oute of hand and to belefe the gospell while it is preached vnto vs Ne tardes converti ad dominū ne differas de die in diem slacke not to turne to the lorde saith the scripture nor differr it not from daye to day Lease not the goode occasions of repentaunce faith and grace offerred in goddes worde presumyng and trusting of this that god is so mercyfull that he will forgev vs when we desyre him and vpon this that way may hear and beleve gods worde when we list and repent at oure pleasure and so sone ynowgh if we tarry and differr all till the last howr ffor god who hath promysed vs mercy hath not promysed vs to lyve an howr. god who hath promysed vs mercy hath promysed it nowe and not to morow. *Ecce nūc tempus acceptū ecce nūc dies salutis* Behold saith Poule nowe is the acceptable tyme. behold now is the tyme of salvation. Mark good people this word nowe now The acceptable tyme is now it is not to morow the healthfull tyme is now it is not to morow not that god wold not helpe vs and save vs to morow or at any tyme els but partlie bycause we may dye or to morow and should not think to lyve till to morow nor dyffer repenting belevyng and reseaving of gods grace till to morowe but shuld repent and beleve while we be comāunded and receyve gods mercy whiles it is offerred and partlie bycause he that will not thus doo to day comōlie

will not to morow neither *Qui non est hodie cras minus aptus erit.* He that is not fytt to day is lesse fitt to morow ffor this is the propertie and nature of synn by long vsing of it to brede in vs such a low towardes it that we will not be pluck from it neither by fayre meanes nor by fowle. A yong man saith Salomon walking after his way when he is olde will not leav it Therefore Poule biddeth us beware lesse we be hardened by synn. *ne quis obduretur seductione peccati.* as the Jewes wer in wildernes Thus was Pharao hardened the more mercie god showed him the more was he hardened in synn. Wherefore dearlie beloved put not of the tyme of repentaunce of belefe and of grace but repent & beve so sone as we be comāunded and receyve gods grace while it is therby offered. For we know not how sone nor how sodenlie nor after what maner we shall die. Die not many in madnes withoute any remembraunce of god or regard of savinge or dampnyng their sowles. Die not many in such a forgetfulnes that they remember neither god nor the devyll neither heaven nor hell neither salvation or dampnation Die not many in a dead slepe when their senses and witts be at rest and so die withoute any remembraunce at all. Die not many in a light siknes as they think and so put of to repent to beleve to call for mercy till an other tyme when they be dead. Die not many in fighting one with another when they mynd nothing els but one to kill or hurte an other. Die not many sodenlie some with gonne shote some with thunder some with other sodeyn deathes when ther is not tyme of repenting beleiving and calling for mercie. So that it is mooste trew that is said of Salomon A man knoweth not his end but as a bird is cawght by a snare and a fysche with a hooke so be men by their last day that is to say they die or they loke for it. Dearlie beloved if we hadd life death and the maner of them in oure handes that we myght lyve as long as we lyst and die when and after what sorte we wold then to differ the tyme of repentaunce belefe and salvation till oure pleasure

it were somewhat, but seing neither life neither death nor the maner of them be in oure power and seing we may both in yowth and in age die withoute repentaunce belefe and calling for mercie and that diverse waies as dieng in madnes in forgetfulnes in fighting in sleaping in not thinking to die as many have done Bycause as Austen saith *quid vni homini accidit alteri contingere potest sine gratia dei.* that which happeneth to one man may light vppon an other were not for the mercie of god that lets it, let vs all withoute delaie repent oure synns amend oure lyves beleve the gospell crie for mercie and imbrace it while it is offered lest we can not when we wold and purpose not for any lack in god but for oure vnreadines to it A wise man will feare and cast the worst and take the best when it is offered lest by refusing the best in tyme he fall in to the wurst at a nother tyme Therfore he lyveth in such redines both to god the world and him selfe ward as though he shuld die or to morowe foloweng the good counsell of Senec who saith bycause thou knowest not when nor where thou shalt die loke for death in everie place and in all tymes. *omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremū.* belev to die or to morow Musonius being asked who died best aunswered he that alwayes looked to die or to morow. Erasmus is offended with this clause of the procession from all sodein death delyver vs good lord bycause everie Christen man should lyve in such preparūnce towards death that no death could be soden vnto him I wold to god we were so godlie that we nede not to pray to escape all sodein death then we wold repent more then we doo then we wold not lyve as we doo withoute faith and godlines then we wold not put of all to the tyme of death as wee doo then we nede not to feare the iust punyshment of god agenst the securitie and presumyng of gods forwardnes in offering his mercie and of oure redines in repenting beleiving and calling for his pardone as now we ought to doo Mr. More in his first

boke of comforte agenst tribulation doth tell of one that was wont alwaies to saye that all the tyme while he lyved he wold do what he lyst. ffor three wordes when he died shuld make all safe inowgh but then so happened it that long or he wer old his horse stumbled vpon a broken bridg and as he labored to recover him when he saw it wold not be but downe into the flowd hedlong nedes he shuld he cried oute in falling have all to the devill and ther was he drowned with his three wordes. O dreadfull example of securitie and differring the time of repentūce belefe and salvation. This wretch thowght to be saved by three wordes. O craftie devill which causest men to deferr the tyme of salvation to take the waye to dampnation and vnder the hoope of salvation O good people beware of delaies in leving synn in turninge to god in beleving the gospell in craving for pardone repent betyme beleve the gospell while it is preached call for grace and take it when it is offered The lord gyve vs all grace so to doo Senec writeth that one Sextius dyd everie nyght when he went to bedd aske of his mynd thees questions what evell condition hast thou this day amended what vice hast thou this daie withstood what art thou the better then when thou didest arise This examination of Sextius pleased Senec so well that he him selfe did folow and practise it ffor thus he writeth of him selfe when the day is past I examyn the whole agen and weigh what I have both said and done I kepe nothing in secret I omit nothing ffor why should I be afrayed seing that I may frelie say take hede do so no more for all this tyme I forgyve the In thy talke with such a man thou didst reason to earnestlie hereafter I warn the dispute not with the ignorant Thou warneest such a man more freele a great deale then thou oughtest and more dydst offend him then thou didst amend him hence forth consider not onlie whether thou speakest the truth or not but also whether he can beare it to whome it is tolde and so forth of other fawtes Thees

men being but ethnikes yet lyved more godlie then we Christanes. Thees men amended their lyves everie daye and we differr it till the last day. Thees men dailie withstode vice and we do dailie folowe vice. Wherefore if we will not amend oure lyves as they dyd they shall ryse at the last daie to gyve sentence agenst vs to oure endles shame and payne that they being but ethnykes havinge but the lawe of nature to guyde them and yet thus dyd examyne and amend their lyves and we so did not being Christians having besides the lawe naturall the scripture to move vs therunto wherefore repent good people repent and amend youre lyves Thus much of repentūnce it foloweth And beleve the gospell. The gospell is here taken for the glad tydings that Christ cam to fulfull the lawe for vs and to die to put away the death and payne dewe for oure synnes. So that to beleve the gospell is to be perswaded that Christ fulfilled the lawe that his fulfilling of the lawe myght be taken before God for our fulfilling of the lawe and that he died that oure synns shuld be forgyven and washed away by his death and bloudshed by the which belefe Poule saith we be iustified. Thowgh we can not be saved withoute repentūnce in asmuch as it is the ordinarie wey and preparūnce to faith withoute the which no man is saved yet repentaunce of it selfe withoute faith is the redie way also to despayre for the which we be dampned. ffor when we acknowledg and repent oure synns seing how great they be and how sore they displease god and how grevouse punyshment they do deserve except we be comforted by faith in gods mercie through the merites of oure savyor Christ we cannot but despayre for them and so die for ever as we see by Cain & Judas who in repenting and acknowledging ther synns thowght them so great that they could not be pdoned and despayring of the mercie of god for them be dampned for it Therfore Christ that we shuld vse repentaunce to his pleasure and to oure comforte byddeth vs not onlie to repent but with

all to beleve his gospell also willinge vs therbie to learne that though oure synns deserve death everlasting yet if we beleve god dothe forgyve them for his precieuse deathes sake they be quyght forgyven as is seen by mary Magdalen and Peter which beleved that god wold pardon their synns as he did though they thought them most worthie of hell fyre. Therefore Christ saith who so beleveth in me though he be dead shall lyve meanyng therbie that they which beleve in him shall lyve for ever though for their synns they deserved to die for ever. To the text Repent and beleve the gospell. Christ spoke thes wordes to all men as willing all men to repent and to beleve his gospell and so to be saved. ffor god is a god as David saith that willeth no synn. non deus volens iniquitate tu es but hateth it as it is in Zacharie omnia enim hec sunt que edi dicit dominus. This is no fayned hatred. And god willeth all men to be saved and come to the knowledg of the truthe as Poule saith and willeth no man to perishe but wold have all men to come to repentunce as Peter saith This is no fayned will God calleth all to his heavenlie supper and mariage This is no fayned calle Therefore we must both thinke and say that god in dede will have no man to abyde in synn nor no man not to beleve Christes gospell. And so this sayeng of Christ repent and beleve the gospell doth unfaynedlie belong to all men and shall turne to all meñs salvation that kepe it. And that all men be not saved it is not because god wold not but because we will not Therefore Christ him selfe saith that he wold send the holie ghoste as he did to condemne the world bycause they beleved not in him Thus moste honorable I have shewed youe that we muste repent and beleve Christes gospell if we will be saved God graunte that we may so doo for Christes sake his sonn and oure lord To whome with the father and the holie ghost be all honor and prayse for ever Amen.

APPENDIX VIII.

(FROM STRYPE'S LIFE OF PARKER. App. p. 54.]

An Answer to the Reasons, that the Apparel of Priests ought not to be worn. By the which Answer it will appear, that the Apparel of Priests may be worn. Written by Guest, Bishop of Rochester.

The First Reason.

APPAREL ought to be worn, as meat ought to be eaten. MSS. penes
But by Poule, meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten. me.
Therefore priests apparel, which hath been superstitiously
used, ought not to be worn.

The Answer.

Let all the apparel of priests be new made, as al that hath been, which hath been made, since idolatry and superstition have been put away; and this reason maketh not against the wearing of such apparel of priests, because it was never superstitiously used. And this reason concludeth but against the wearing of priests apparel which hath been superstitiously used. If it be replied and said, that priests apparel that is now worne, is such in facion, as hath been superstitiously used; and therefore the apparel of priests that is now worn, ought not to be worn. I answer, that yet this argument holdeth not, no more than this, meat which is not offered to idols is such in kind as hath been offered to idols. Therefore that meat ought not to be eaten. But to the aforesaid reason, *apparel ought to be worn as meate ought to be eaten. But by Poule meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten. Therefore priests apparel, which hath been superstitiously used, ought not to be worn.* 1 Cor. 10.

The *minor*, or second part of this reason, generally and simply taken, is not true. Therefore the conclusion followeth not. For it is playne in Poule, that the Co-

rinthians, which knewe the liberty of the gospel, might eat the meat that was offered to idols. *Siquis vocat vos infidelium, & vultis ire, quicquid apponitur vobis, edite, nihil interrogantes propter conscientium. Quod si quis vobis dixerit, hoc simulachris immolatum est, ne edatis propter illum, qui indicavit, & propter conscientiam. Conscientiam, dico, non tuam, sed illius alterius.* Here Poule sheweth, that the Corinthians, which knewe the libertie of the gospel, might eat what meat soever was set before them, though it had been offered to idols. And therefore touchyng there own conscience, they neded not to aske, whether the meate was dedicated to idols, or no, knowynge, that even *that* meate was not forbidden to bee eaten; and so by themselves, and with other also, which they knewe not, nor shewed themselves to be offended with the eatynge of idol meate, they might lawfully eate it. And whereas Poule forbad the eatynge therof, it was onely doen for the weak consciences of them, that were not resolved, that to eat such meate was lawfull. For thees be Poule's wordes, *ne edatis propter illum, qui indicavit, & propter conscientiam, non suam, sed illius alterius.* Whereupon thus it is to be concluded for the lawful wearynge of priests apparel, that hath been superstitiously used: as generally and simply it is lawful to eate the meat that was offered to idols, even so it is with the like generality to be concluded, that priests apparel, that hath been abused about superstition and idolatrie, may be worn. Therefore, as Poule saith, *nemo vos judicet in cibo, in potu, aut in parte diei festi*, for al the superstition that was in them; so it is to bee saied, that no man ought to condemne us for wearing the priests apparel, for al it hath been superstitiously used. And thus the reason, that was made against the wearing of the superstitiously abused apparel of the priests, generally and simply maketh for the wearynge of the same.

1 Cor. 10. But here it is said, that Poule forbiddeth the Corinthians to eat idol meat before them that think it unlawful to be eaten, least they bee offended withal; therefore

priests apparel, which hath been used to a superstitious end, ought not to be worne. I answer, now the *minor* of the foresaid reason is changed, and made not so general, as the conclusion is, and so the reason is worse then it was. For this now is the reason, apparel ought to be worne, as meat ought to be eaten : but by Poule meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten with the offence of other. Therefore priests apparel, which hath been superstitiously used, ought not to be worne. So the conclusion here is more general than the *minor*, because thees wordes, *with the offence of other*, be not put in the conclusion to restrayne it withall, as they be put in the *minor*. And so there is more in the conclusion, then there is in the *minor*. Therefore the argument is not good ; and it is a *Fallax a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. But be it, the *minor* and the conclusion be restrayned alike ; and so the reason is thus framed, *apparel ought to be worne, as meat ought to be eaten ; but by Poule meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten with the offence of other. Therefore priests apparel, which hath been superstitiously used, ought not to be worne with the offence of other.*

Yet this reason proveth not the negative of the question ; bycause the negative thereof is not put in the conclusion. For the negative of the conclusion is not, that priests apparel, which hath been superstitiously used, ought not to be worne with the offence of other, (as it is here put), but it is, that priests apparel ought not to be worne, as it is at the beginning declared : and so this reason is *fallacia accidentis*. Bycause priests apparel may be worne whether it hath been superstitiously used or no, when and where none be offended withal, as it is before proved. And though this reason maketh not against the wearing of priests apparel ; yet it maketh for it, and that for three causes.

The first is, Bycause there is concluded thereby nothing else, but that we may not wear the apparel of priests with the offence of other. And therefore it is to be pre-

supposed, and inferred therof, that when and where no offence is given by the wearing of such apparel, wee may wear it, whether it hath been superstitiously used or no. Or else these wordes, *with the offence of other*, were put in vaine; and it had been sufficient, barely without the same wordes, to have said, priests apparel, which hath been superstitiously used, ought not to bee worne.

The second cause, why the reason aforesaid maketh for the wearing of priests apparel, is, bycause, that as Rom. 14. Poule calleth them that were offended with the eating of idol meate, *weak in faith*, bycause they judged against the libertie of the gospel therein : even so it is to be saied of them, which be offended with the wearing of priests apparel, that they be *weak in faith*; for that they be not fully persuaded of the libertie of the gospel herein, which alloweth the wearing of the saied apparel. And therfore they ought to suffer themselves to be better taught and amended therein : as they did, or ought to have don, which thought it unlawful to eat of the meat, that was offered to idols.

The third cause is, Bycause as they, that were offended with the eating of idol meate, were borne withal but for a time, until they were playnely taught in the libertie thereof by the gospel; and if, after that knowledge, they wolde be stil offended with the eatinge of idol meate, 1 Cor. 9. then they were coumpted no more *weak* in faith, but *wilful* and stubborne in there opinion : and so the offence that they took by eating of idol meate was not Mat. 15. regarded; no more then Christ regarded the offence of Pharisees : right so it is to bee seyed of them that be offended with the wearing of priests apparel. At the first they were to be borne withal until further knowledge; but now that they perfittly knowe, that we weare not this apparel for religion, but for order and obedience; and that they have been borne withal herein almost thees six yeres; and yet they are rather more then less offended with the wearing of priestly apparel,

they are not now weak in faith herein for lack of knowledge, but corrupt in opinion for wilfulnes, stownes, and singularitie. And therefore, their offence herein is not to be regarded.

The Second Reason.

Wee must not weare such apparel as offendeth our 1 Cor. 10. bretherne: but by wearing of priestis apparel we offend our bretherne. Therefore we must not weare priestis apparel.

The Answer.

It is most playnely knowen, that is the Quenes Majesties injunction, and commandment, that we ministers shuld weare priestes apparell. Which commandment in things indifferent, (as the wearinge of priestis apparel is,) ought to be obeyed and fulfilled, even for conscience sake, as Poule saith. And it is further knowen, (as I Rom. 13. wold wishe it were in prynte so declared,) that almost the whole realme, as wel Protestants as Catholikes, do allow the same apparel to be worne not for religion, but for order and obedience. Therefore they, that be offended with the wearinge of priestis apparel, take the offence, and the wearers give none. But they, that be offended withall, give the offence, in that they openly refuse to weare the said apparel, which is now commonly receaved and worne even of the Protestants; and say withal, that it cannot stand with the libertie of the gospel to wear it. For so by the gospel they seeme to condemne the reast of the Protestantes, which doo allowe priestes apparel, or weare it. Whereby the people, and other also, thinke that we Protestants disagree in our religion. And therefore they refuse to beleave it; as doubting of the truth therof. And our enymies slaunder and mocke it as false, for this our variance (as it is thought) in religion. And so the trueth is hindered, the majestie therof defaced, and the autoritie discredited. Wherefore thus maye we wel use their own reason against

them. Ministers must wear no apparel, that offendeth other: but theire wearynge of other apparel then priestly offendeth other. Therefore ministers must weare no other apparel then is priestly.

The Third Reason.

Durant, Maurus, and other write, that priestis apparel hath many superstitious significations; and hath been, and shuld be sanctified; and judgeth it so necessarye, that ministers cannot serve God wel in the church without it. Therefore priestis apparel ought not to be worne.

The Answer.

Wee do not defend the wearing of priestis apparel, as it hath been superstitiously used, but as it is now commanded, and thought to make for good order. Therefore this reason is not good, bycause there is more in the consequent, then is in the antecedent. Yea, it is a *fallax à dicto secundum quid ad simpliciter*; bycause it concludeth, that forasmuch as priestis apparel, which hath been superstitiously used, is not to be used, as it was used so; therefore it ought not to be used and worn at al, without such abuse. But to the foresaied reason, Durant, Maurus, and other write, *that priestes apparel hath many superstitious significations, and hath been judged so necessarye, that priestes could not serve God wel in the church without it. Therefore priestis apparel ought not to bee worne.* If we wil make a syllogysme of this *enthymeme*, we shal wel understand the untrueth of this reason. Whatsoever thing hath been superstitiously used, ought not to be used: but Durant, Maurus and
 1 Cor. 10. other write, that priestes apparel hath been superstitiously used. Therefore priestes apparel ought not to be used. Now, who seeth not, that the *major* is false? for meat consecrated to idols might be eaten without synne, though by such consecration it was idolatrously used. The difference of meate and dayes, which were

commanded and kept for religion, may be, for al that, stil kept for policie and order. Though God commanded, that there shuld be no altar, but at *Hierusalem*, to do sacrifice upon; and if there were, it was idolatrye: yet the children of Reuben, Gad and Manasses, builded up Josue 22. an altar out of *Hierusalem*, in remembrance that they were Goddes people, and served the same God, that the reast of the children of Israel did; and it was allowed as lawfully doen. So may we use priestis apparel for order and obedience, however it hath been superstitiously used.

Agayne, if it were true, (as it is not) that we ought not to weare priestes apparel, that hath been used with superstition: yet such apparel of priestes, that hath been made since true religion hath been received, and is stil made, may bee worne. Therefore the foresaid reason is a *fallax* (as I saied) *à dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*.

The Fourth Reason.

Wee ought by Poule to forbear from al appearance 1 Thess. 5. of evil. But in apparel, to go like a papistical priest, hath the appearance of evil. Therefore we ought not to go in priestis apparel.

The Answer.

The *minor* is not true. For no apparel hath any appearance of evil; and no man is to bee judged thereby to be evil. For of al indifferent things, as meate drynke, dayes and apparel be, Poule saith, *nemo vos Col. 2. judicet in cibo, in potu, aut in parte diei festi*. For by the same Poule, neither meat, drink nor apparel be the kingdome of God: they be neither good nor bad. The Rom. 14. lawyer weareth a typpit and a gown, like a papistical priest; yet no man judgeth him to synne, or to be a papist therefore. The mourner weareth a capp like a priest; yet no man reproveth him, or thinketh him to

be a papist for it. The porter, the horsekeeper, sometime weare a lynnin garment, like a surplesse, yet no man judgeth them to do amisse, or to be papists for it. Therefore, it is not the fashion of priests garments, that hath the appearance of evil.

If it be saied, that priestes apparel hath the appearance of evil, bycause it showeth, who is a priest, and putteth difference betwixt a priest, and another: I answer, that the apparel of priestes ought not to be judged to have the show of evil, for showing and putting such difference. Bycause the priest is of another call and office than any other man is: (and it is reason, that he shuld be taken, as he is;) so it standeth with good order, that by difference of his apparel, it shuld be declared, and so it is not to be disallowed. For that both Scripture and reason allow order. Further, bycause to be a minister, as he is now, is not evil: bycause his ministry is now whole accordinge to the Worde of God. Therfore the apparel, which is appoynted, and used to show, that this man or that man is a minister, is not evil, but good. But if it be saied, that priestes apparel was invented, and used for religion, and to show forth a papistical priest, such one as saith masse, and mayntayneth idolatrie and superstition; then I answer, that though it was first so ordeyned, and for that cause used; yet it is not now appoynted, nor used for any such superstitious end. As I wold to God it were so taught by publike doctrine in prynte, and then al this strife wold be at an end. But the saied apparel is worne and appoynted to put difference betwixt a priest, and another man; and to show who is a priest, that he may be esteemed as he is, even the minister of Goddes

1 Cor. 4. Holy Worde and Sacraments. Therefore priestes apparel hath not the appearance of evil, but of good. And

1 Thess. 5. so it is not forbidden by Poule, bycause he forbiddeth but that thinge, which semeth and showeth to be synne indeed.

The Fifth Reason.

Wee may not use indifferent thinges, when they bee commanded; bycause then of things indifferent, they be made not indifferent, but necessary. But priestes apparel, thought it be indifferent, is commanded, and so it is made not indifferent, but necessary. Therefore we ought not to use priestes apparel, bycause it is commanded.

The Answer.

If the apparel of priestes ought not to be used, when it is commanded, bycause then it is made of indifferent, necessarye, why then make ye it necessarye without commandment? for in that ye wil not use it, and teach that in conscience you ought not to weare it, you make it therby, of indifferent necessarye: not necessarye for policie, which is lawful; but necessarye for religion, which is ungodly. If this were true, that we might not use indifferent things when they be commanded, bycause then of things indifferent, they be made not indifferent, but necessarye; then we ought not to obey and kepe any lawe, that properly a prince doth make, bycause properly he maketh no lawe for vertue, or against vice. For that it is made already in the Worde of God: for there al vertue is commanded, and al synne forbidden. But the lawes that a prince maketh, they be of things indifferent, which before his laws we might at our choise have doen them, or left them. But after they be commanded or forbidden by his lawe, we must nedes kepe the commanded, and shone the forbidden, even for conscience sake, as it is in Poule. If this were true, Rom. 13. that we might not use thinges indifferent, wheu they be commanded, bycause then of thinges indifferent, they be made not indifferent, but necessarye, then we shuld not obey Poule, in commanding us not to eate the meate, Rom. 14. nor to breake the holy daye, that oure weake brothers will be offended withall: bycause by this his command-

ment, the absteynynge from meate, and the keeping of holy dayes, which be thinges indifferent, be made not indifferent, but necessarye in the case of offence. But

- Rom. 13. it is certen by Poule, that we must obey the prince, when of thinges indifferent, he maketh them by his lawe necessarye : and we must not eate meate, nor break
 Rom. 14. the holye daye, (as indifferent things as they be,) when and where thereby, we offend our weake bretherne.

Therefore we ought to weare priestis apparel, even when it is commanded, though by the commandment it is made, of indifferent, necessarye. Bycause it is commanded not for religion, but for order. To end this answer, *necessarye* in this reason is taken two wayes. In the *major* for necessarye for religion ; in the *minor* for necessarye for policie. And so there be fower termes in the syllogisme : and so the reason is not good. For it is a *fallax ab æquivocatione*.

The Sixth Reason.

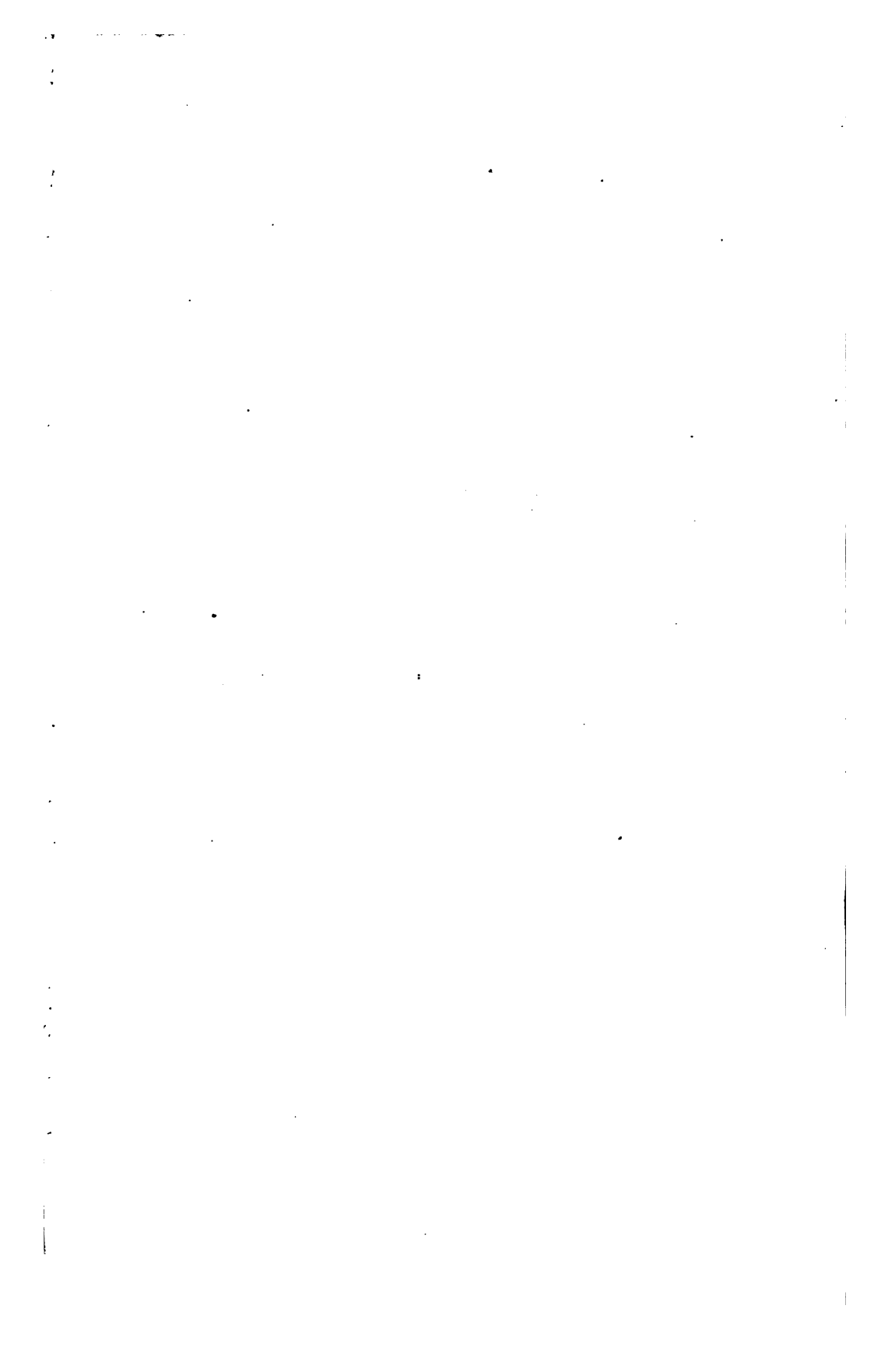
If we shuld graunt to weare priestis apparel, then it might, and wold be required at our handes, to have shawen crownes, and to receive more papistical abuses. Therefore it is best at the first not to graunt to weare priestes apparel.

The Answer.

What wolde be requyred, if al ministers did weare priestis apparel, we knowe not. For thinges to come be out of our knowledge. But it is our part to judge the best, and to praye for the best. And we ought not to fear the worst, but to trust for the best. Bycause we evidently see the prince to set forth and to favour good religion, both in word and dede. This evil suspicion might be wel gathered, if the Prince were, (as God forbid) a Papist ; but in no wise, she being as she is, (God be thanked) a Protestant. If we might thus reason of uncerten likelyhodes, then this might be saied : If they that be ministers wil not wear priestes apparel, as the

prince hath commanded, then it is to be feared, (which I pray God be not) that she wil put them out of their lyvinges, and out of the ministerie also, as wel lerned, and as necessarye as they be, as disobedient persons; as Eulabius a bishop served his own sonne, bycause he wold not weare priestes apparel, (as Camerarius in his catechisme writeth, *Cap. de Traditionibus*): and that the gospel shal be slaundered, hindered, and lesse loved for such unruly teachers therof. The which is a great deal worse, than to have a shaven crowne, which is worne without superstition. But bycause this kinde of reasonynge is both hateful and uncerten, I wil leave to speake more of the foresaid reason, for that it is uncerten, and so cannot prove that which is doubtful, nor disprove that which is certen.

THE END.



ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 8, line 17, for "invincible" read "invulnerable."

21, line 1, for "arguments" read "argument."

34, after line 10, add "Vide Appendix, p. 149."

after line 31, add "Vide Appendix, p. 157."

36, after line 17, add "Vide Appendix, p. 157."

54, in line 15, after "says" insert "incorrectly,"

57, line 4, for "Durie" read "Drurie."

7, for "et" read "&c."

61, line 9, for "memoriæ" read "memoria," and add "Vide note
infra* at pp. 58, 59."



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